

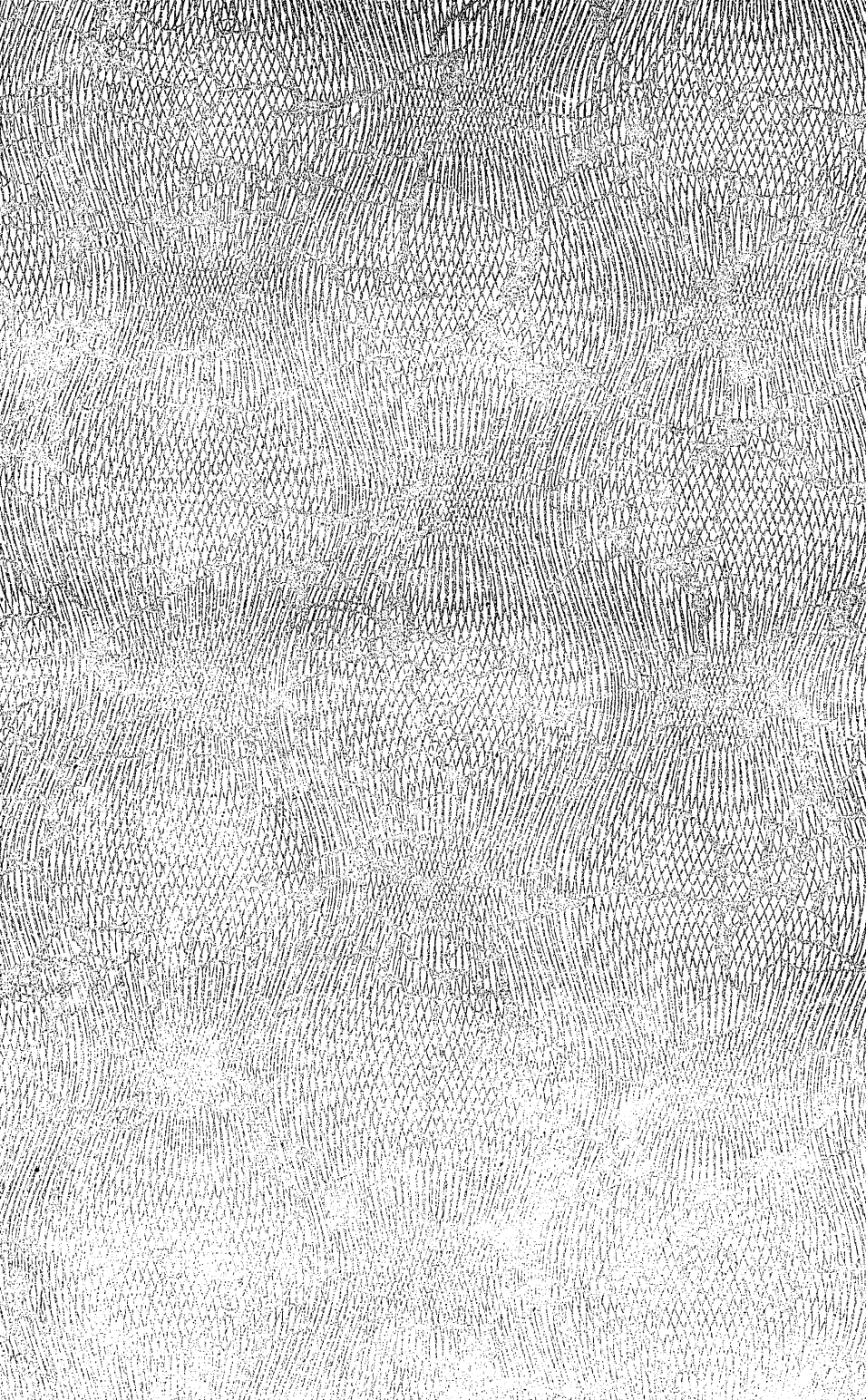
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ITALIC HUT URNS
AND
HUT URN CEMETERIES

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A STUDY IN THE EARLY IRON AGE
OF LATIUM AND ETRURIA

BY

W. R. BRYAN

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PREFACE

THE object of this study has been twofold : (1) to make a complete list of all Italic hut urns of which information was obtainable and, as incidental thereto, to secure illustrations of all those which had remained unpublished ; (2) to make a careful examination of the cemeteries in which hut urns occur with the view of determining their relationship with other burials.

Chapters I to VI on the various burial sites are analytical. In the last two chapters (VII and VIII) a synthesis has been attempted. The relative chronology of the period under discussion has received the emphasis.

The writer has approached the subject at hand with no convictions on questions of ethnology. Where such matters are touched upon they have arisen from the investigation of the actual material from the burials (or the burials themselves), and the theories advanced have seemed to explain best certain phenomena observable therein. In other words the theories

are the result of the analysis ; the analysis was not made to sustain theories.

In making the above statement no implication is intended that what is here said on the subject of races is new.

The least unimportant result of these labors, in the writer's humble opinion, is the determination of the character of the equipment of the primitive cremation burials of Latium. It has not been hitherto definitely ascertained, he believes, that these never yield fibulae a sanguisuga or a navicella, lunate razors, beads of glass or paste, nor iron. It is also interesting to know that no record of the finding of iron in cremation tombs of the Iron Age in Latium is in evidence. The writer hopes that he has established a case for the sudden intrusion of a race practicing inhumation into the district south of the Tiber. He is confident that there was no gradual change of rite here as some archaeologists assert.

My especial gratitude is due Professor C. Densmore Curtis for reading the proof and preparing the MS. for publication. I wish also to express my appreciation to Professor A. W. Van Buren for placing his expert bibliographical knowledge at my disposal. Thanks are due him and Professor Curtis also for reading the MS. They have both offered me valuable suggestions and encouraged me

with their interest. Professor John C. Rolfe of the University of Pennsylvania did me the kindness of reading the MS. To Professor W. B. Mc Daniel of the same institution I am indebted for the choice of subject.

It is needless to say that I alone am responsible for all statements of fact.

To several Italian archaeologists, particularly the directors of the larger museums, I am under the deepest obligation. Their unfailing courtesy and patience is gratefully acknowledged.

Acknowledgement is especially due the work of Dr. Pinza without which acquaintance with the Iron Age of Latium is well nigh impossible.

Columbia University August 31, 1923.

WALTER REID BRYAN.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATED TITLES OF BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

- A. C. I. : Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche.
 A. I. : Annali dell'Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica.
 A. M. : Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (Athenische Abteilung).
 Arch. : Archaeologia.
 B. C. : Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma.
 B. I. : Bullettino dell'Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica.
 B. J. : Bonner Jahrbücher.
 Bonstetten : G. de . . . Recueil d'Antiquités Suisses (Berne 1885).
 B. P. : Bullettino di Paletnologia Italiana.
 D. A. R. : Dissertazioni dell'Accademia Romana di Archeologia.
 Falchi : Isidoro . . . Vetulonia e la sua Necropoli Antichissima (Florence 1891).
 J. A. I. : Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.
 Lichtenberg : Reinhold Freiherr von . . . Das Porträt an Grabdenkmalen (Strassburg 1902).
 Lindenschmidt: L.. Die Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit (Mayence 1862).
 M. A. : Monumenti Antichi dei Lincei.
 M. I. : Monumenti dell'Istituto Archeologico.
 Milani M. A. : Il R. Museo Archeologico di Firenze (Florence 1912).
 Milani M. T. : Il Museo Topografico dell'Etruria (Florence 1898).
 Modestov : . . . Introduction à l'Histoire Romaine (Paris 1907).
 Montelius Civ. : Civilisation Primitive en Italie (Stockholm, Planches 1904, Texte 1910).
 Montelius Chron. : Die Vorklassische Chronologie Italiens (Stockholm 1912).

NOTE: In references to either of the two works of Montelius cited above "Pl." or "Taf" is to the volume of plates; "Col." to the text.

- N. S. : Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità.
Pinza : Materiali per la Etnologia Antica Toscano-Laziale
(Milan 1915).
R. L. : Rendiconti dei Lincei. — Classe di scienze morali,
storiche, e filologiche.
R. M. : Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen In-
stituts (Römische Abteilung).
Von Duhn : Italische Gräberkunde, Heidelberg 1924 (This ex-
cellent volume appeared too late to allow me to
refer to it as much as it deserves).
Walters A. P. : H. B. . . . History of Ancient Pottery (London 1905).
Walters B. M. Cat. : H. B. . . . Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan
vases in the British Museum (London 1912).
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ITALIC HUT URNS AND HUT URN CEMETERIES

INTRODUCTION

ITALIC hut urns are a type of ossuary imitating in their appearance the dwelling of the period when the urns were in use. A glance at the illustrations will give a better idea of these objects, their likeness to one another and yet unfailing diversity, than any amount of description. They vary from about seven to twenty-two inches in diameter and average about ten inches in height. The material of which they are composed is the so-called *impasto Italico*, or local argillaceous earth baked at an open fire.

These ossuaries were first made famous by Alessandro Visconti who, in 1816, discovered what was then supposed to be the ancient necropolis of Alba Longa. The hut urns that were found on this site are described and illustrated by Visconti in the "Atti dell'Accademia Romana d'Archeologia", vol. I, part 2, for the year 1823. The discovery of these primitive burials and the publication of the results of the excavations may be said to mark the beginning of the science of prehistoric archaeology.

A study of the Italic hut urn must of necessity be highly particularized. It is a study of a very general funeral conception in one of its peculiar manifestations among one people and during a limited period of time.

The general funeral conception of which the hut urn is a particular manifestation consists in assimilating the abode of the dead to the abode of the living. This has been done in various ways in inhumation as well as cremation burials in all epochs and among divers peoples.

But confining ourselves, as is here necessary, to the single phase of this conception, i.e. to the use of cinerary urns resembling in form a hut or house, we find even here a widely diffused practice. Ossuaries of this type are by no means confined to Italy. They have been found for years past and in considerable number in Germany¹. They occur in the Scandinavian peninsula². There is one, at least, the provenience of which is Tripolis in North Africa³. Their use in Crete⁴ and Cyprus⁵ is proved by a number of examples⁶.

Limiting our view still further it is found that, although the hut urns which form the subject of this study are the earliest known examples of such objects on Italian soil, they by no means even here represent a detach-

¹ The literature of German hut urns is considerable. See *R. L.* 1893, pp. 424-25; 433ff. and notes. The German urns, especially one from Wilsleben (cf. p. 435, Fig. 7), resemble the Italic variety more closely than those from other countries.

² On the authority of Montelius, *A. C. I.* Vol. V (sect IV.), p. 236.

³ The writer has only recently been apprised of the existence of this urn. It is in the Rijks-Museum van Oudheden at Leyden.

⁴ *M. A.* I, p. 202, Tav. I, *Bull. de Cor. Hel.* 1892, p. 295.

⁵ *M. A.* XV, Col. 621, with references there quoted.

⁶ There is also an urn from southern Italy which should be mentioned in this connection. See E. Pottier, *Vases Antiques du Louvre*, 1st series, Pl. 29, Fig. D32. It is dated by the author from the 12th to the 8th century B. C. The animal figures on the cover are reminiscent of some of the urns of Bisenzio. It is painted in a geometric style with a checker pattern on the sides, stands upon legs, and in other respects differs greatly from the Italic type of hut urn.

ed tradition⁷. They are rather, so far as is known, the *beginning* of a long tradition which extended into a far later period. To the early urns of *impasto* there succeeded, in prehistoric and Etruscan times, more elaborate urns of terracotta with painted figures⁸, bronze⁹, bronze and silver¹⁰, bucchero¹¹, and stone¹². In the full Roman period the same tradition is continued in the elegant miniature houses of marble within which were placed the ashes of the deceased¹³.

It is important therefore to emphasize that the Italic

⁷ In the collection of references to the hut or house type of urn in *M. A.* XV, Col. 618 f. there are some questionable examples. E. g. the terracotta chest from Boeotia certainly does not appear to be related to the hut urn tradition.

⁸ From Corneto. Montelius, *Civ.* II, 2, Pl. 302 Fig. 1. It is also questionable whether the imitation of a house was here intended.

⁹ From Orvieto. Montelius, *Civ.* II, 1, Pl. 241, Fig. 14. *M. A.* XV, Fig. 189c. From Falerii. Montelius, *Civ.* II, 2, Pl. 308, Fig. 8. *M. A.* XV, Fig. 189d.

¹⁰ From Vetulonia-tomba del Duce. Montelius, *Civ.* II, 1, Pl. 188, Figs. 1a, b.

¹¹ From Val di Sasso in the province of Perugia. Montelius, *Civ.* II, 1, Pl. 238, Fig. 8.

¹² From Chiusi. Montelius, *Civ.* II, 1, Pl. 226, Fig. 5. The cover of this urn has been misplaced or lost. Cf. Margaret C. Waites in *Classical Philology* IX (1914) p. 113.

The Museo Archeologico of Florence contains several interesting specimens of stone urns imitating houses belonging to the Etruscan period. Ossuaries were found in the Esquiline necropolis in Rome made of *pietra gabina* with covers imitating a roof with two slopes. It seems impossible to date the latter because of lack of accessory material. *M. A.* XV, Col. 182.

¹³ Montelius, *Civ.* II, 1, Col. 662, Fig. h. There is a beautiful specimen in the Vatican Museum with the inscription, "Ossa Q. Vitelli QA. L. Aretis" cut in the gable.

See Amelung, *Die Sculpturen des Vaticanischen Museums*, Tafeln II, Taf. 15, Fig. 90.

hut urn from the point of view of folk-practice is merely a certain phase of a conception of wide prevalence.

The first impression may be that it is somewhat arbitrary to attempt to treat this particular antiquity by itself distinct from kindred objects, especially its descendants on Italian ground. This procedure appears justified, however, by the fact that the Italic urns form a homogeneous group. They are distinguished not only by material but in form and general appearance from those that succeed them. Moreover the circumstances under which they were interred lead us to infer that they are all, if not contemporary, at least the product of a same culture-stage.

The material of which the Italic hut urns are composed having been mentioned, another particular should also be noticed in passing, i.e. that they never stand upon legs so as to approach a chest in type with consequently less likeness to the true hut form. Legs, on the other hand, are a regular feature of later varieties. Almost without exception too the ashes and smaller accessory material of the urns under investigation were introduced through a door in the side rather than by means of a removable cover ¹⁴.

Up to the present time Italic hut urns have been found only within an extremely limited area of the peninsula. The northern most point of their occurrence is the necropolis of Vetulonia, about seventy miles south of Pisa. Excavations at Vetulonia have brought to light more hut urns than at any other site. The southern extremity of the field is fixed by a solitary urn from the neighbor-

¹⁴ For a recent brief account of the distinctive features of hut urns see Grenier, *Bologne Villanovienne et Étrusque* in *Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises*, No. 106 (1912), p. 79; and Von Duhn, *Italische Gräberhunde* I, pp. 213 ff., 398 ff.

hood of Velletri on the southern slopes of the Alban Hills. Between these two points hut urns have been discovered at Corneto, Bisenzio (on the western shore of the Lago di Bolsena), Veii, Rome, and in the vicinity of the Alban Lake. One fragment was also picked up in the Faliscan territory just east of the Lago di Bracciano. The fragment found near Allumiere in the Tolfa mountains probably does not belong to a hut urn.

It will be observed from the above list of locations that the occurrence of the ossuary which forms the subject of this study is sporadic within the confines of southern Etruria and northern Latium, and that the farthest point inland is only forty miles from the coast.

It cannot be denied that as casual finds are made or systematic excavations progress the hut urn may be found to occupy a wider geographical range than this. On the other hand it should be borne in mind that there are various primitive necropolises in different parts of Italy, e.g. Caere, Capena, Vulci, and Volterra which, though more or less carefully investigated, have yielded no hut urns. The complete absence of the latter in the Villanova cemeteries about Bologna is particularly noticeable when one considers the huge amount of early material brought to light in that region, and the similarity of much of it to the material found in cemeteries of Etruria. In assigning the Italic hut urn to the ninth and eighth centuries before Christ the consensus of opinion is followed. The evidence points to the eighth century as the period of bloom of the Italic civilization in Latium and Etruria, and to that period most of the hut urns certainly belong. Toward the end of this century, with the growth of the Umbro-Etruscan influence and culture, the hut urn passes out of use.

The principal dissenters in the matter of chronology

are Montelius and Milani. They would date the hut urns and contemporary material from one to two centuries earlier. Montelius even assigns the oldest of the urns to the Bronze Age, a date which I shall attempt to show is manifestly impossible. As neither Montelius' nor Milani's views regarding chronology have won general credit a formal refutation of their system will not be considered necessary. The writer's own reasons for dating the Italic burials where hut urns are found in the ninth and eighth centuries will appear in the sequel.

That there may be no misunderstanding of the chronological terminology employed in this study a word of explanation is desirable. Following the arrangement of Pinza, the Iron Age has been divided into a first and a second period. The earlier of these divisions extends to the time of the first appearance of Greek black-figured vases in Italy, or about 550 B.C. The first period has further been divided into an "early" and "late" first period. The early first period covers the interval to the close of the eighth century when proto-Corinthian ware first appears in Latium and Etruria, in other words to the time when Corinthian commerce begins to extend to that part of Italy. The word "primitive" has been perhaps rather loosely applied to the most ancient burials, both cremation and inhumation, when the hut urn was in use. In Latium it would be the period before the appearance in graves of iron, glass, painted ware, or any fibulae with greatly enlarged arc or elongated sheath.

I. — HUT URN BURIALS OF THE ALBAN HILLS

OF the various districts of west central Italy in which hut urns have been brought to light the most unsatisfactory from the point of view of accurate information is the Alban Hills. Records have been preserved for more than a century of the casual discovery of isolated tombs or groups of tombs over a territory about seven and a half kilometers in length extending from the Via Appia near Castel Galdolfo to a point midway between Grottaferrata and Frascati. The greatest width of this region is approximately five and a half kilometers over a line drawn from the locality called "Le Selve" through Marino to the Vigna Caracci beyond the Cle. Caselle¹. The evidence also shows that a large number of tombs of which there remains no published record must have been uncovered and destroyed at various times.

Hut urns have been found in at least five points of this extensive area including its two further extremities².

¹ For maps of this part of Latium see supplement II, of Vol. IV, of the *Papers of the British School at Rome*; also Pl. II of Pinza, where Iron Age finds are plotted. The most recent summary of the finds is in Von Duhn, *Italische Gräberkunde*, I, Heidelberg, 1924, p. 518.

² Other points in the Alban Hills (except Velletri) where Iron Age material has been unearthed do not directly concern us here since, with the exception noted, there is no reliable record of the finding of hut urns outside the region defined in the text. The material, however, from the rest of the Alban region and Latium is valuable for comparative purposes.

Although it is certain that some of the groups of burials in this region are related, i. e. that they form part of a single necropolis belonging to a common center of habitation, and so are illustrative of a unified system of development, yet it is likewise certain that they cannot *all* be referred to a single primitive settlement. The burials are too widely separated for such an assumption. The mere fact that interments were being made at more than one point at the same time — as is proved to be the case by the contemporaneity of much of the material and the identity of the burial rite — raises no objection *per se* to assuming a single prehistoric village from which the interments were made. This center, however, as is natural to suppose, and as is shown in the case of other Italic cities such as Vetulonia and Corneto, should be conveniently situated in respect to the spots where the burials were taking place. A glance at the map will show quite clearly that the hypothecation of one common center of habitation for the widely scattered groups of tombs on the shore of the Alban Lake is out of the question. The finding of the most primitive material at the extremes of the area (on the Via Appia near Castel Gandolfo, the Castel de Paolis three kilometers north-west of Marino and the Villa Cavalletti north-east of Grottaferrata) is proof in itself of a plurality of settlements.

Granted this much, the difficulty, which at present seems insuperable, arises of grouping the burials according to the common centers, whether they be few or many. Owing to insufficiency and confusion of data, a careful plotting of the finds and analysis of the material lead to no certain result in this direction. Taking, however, as a basis for an hypothesis the two extreme points where the oldest burials, including hut urns, have been found in quantity (the Via Appia and the Villa Cavalletti),

and a point about midway between these two extremes where also considerable primitive material was unearthed (the region immediately about Marino), it is certainly not too hazardous to assume at least three separate centers of habitation. It is hardly possible that there could have been fewer than these three, although there might possibly have been more.

Pinza, who has a more intimate acquaintance with the prehistoric antiquities of Latium than any other archaeologist, at one time advanced the theory of three settlements in this part of the Alban Hills. This, too, was before the discovery of the group of tombs in the Villa Cavalletti. In a later work, relying upon the evidence of volcanic eruption in this region at the dawn of the historical period, he raises the query as to whether "Alba Longa" might not have been situated in what is now the northern end of the Alban Lake. A town of size sufficient to extend from Castel Gandolfo across the lake to the eastern shore and filling most of the northern extremity of the lake would have been in reach of all the burials lying between Marino and Castel Gandolfo. But even so a second settlement must of necessity be hypothecated for the necropolis between Grottaferrata and Frascati. Convincing as the evidence appears for violent volcanic eruptions at some time subsequent to the earliest interments, inasmuch as there is no evidence of a radical change in the topography of the region it seems advisable not to theorize on changes of this nature³.

Therefore a plurality of settlements seems to be beyond question while the precise number is still open to debate.

³ B. C. 1900, p. 219. Pinza at first selected the sites of Marino, Castel Gandolfo, and the vicinity of the Lago di Castel Gandolfo as the most probable for the early settlements. For his later theory see Pl. II of his *Materiali*, referred to as "Pinza".

For convenience in classification we shall assume that there were three, located as follows : (I) on the western shore of the lake on the site of Castel Gandolfo ; (II) to the north of the lake in close proximity to, or on the actual site of the modern Marino ; (III) beyond the Valle Marciana on or near the site of the modern Grottaferrata. To these prehistoric inhabited centers will correspond the three major groups of burials treated in order below.

I. — The necropolis on the west of the Alban Lake necessarily comprehends two groups of burials separated by about half a kilometer. Other isolated interments have been found in this neighbourhood but we possess no satisfactory information concerning them. One of the above mentioned groups is situated near the chapel of San Sebastiano and consists of cremation tombs only ; the other is near Ercolano in the Vigna Cittadini and is composed entirely of inhumation graves. Both groups are immediately to the left of the Via Appia as one starts out from Albano for Rome.

This antithesis of inhumation to cremation interments is important and should be noted at the outset.

The excavation near the chapel of San Sebastiano brought to light about thirty tombs *a pozzo* in some of which *dolia* were used, while in others the ossuaries and funeral furniture were deposited in holes lined with rude slabs of *peperino*. The mouths of both styles of tombs were closed by pieces of *cappellaccio*. The *pozzi* were arranged without precise order along one side of what appeared to the workmen to be an ancient road. From one of the stone-lined cavities in the semi-tufaceous soil was taken a hut urn decorated with an elegant incised meander pattern filled with a whitish substance (List I, No. 12). Other ordinary cinerary urns with covers imitating a hut roof were found (List II, Nos. 6 and 7).

All the funeral furniture is designated by M. S. de Rossi who visited the spot before the objects were removed, as characteristic of the most archaic period ⁴. In the list of this material given by Pinza one ossuary is mentioned as being wheel-turned ⁵. The pottery is all of the type, certainly, that recurs most frequently in the earliest Iron Age burials of Latium. It consists of amphorae, cups of various shapes including the double-handled variety (*ad ansa biforata*), an askos, flat bowls, jars combined with supporting ovens (*calefattoi*), vases with reticulate relief, and boat-shaped lamps (?) (*vasi a barchetta*). Excepting a few bronze finger rings the only metallic objects of which a record is preserved are fibulae. These are of primitive type. The fibulae *ad arco serpeggiante* were the most numerous; others were *ad arco semplice* and *arco rovescio*. De Rossi expressly remarks the absence of all trace of iron ⁶. In the same report he refers to the many other tombs discovered at different times in the vicinity of the burials here described.

The inhumation tombs *a fossa* of the Vigna Cittadini need not detain us, since they belong unequivocally to the later first period when the hut urn had gone out of use. They yielded among other things fine bucchero and the fragment of a Greek vase upon which was painted a zone of running animals ⁷. Whether these later graves are a direct continuation of the necropolis about San Sebastiano or not, there are no present means of determining.

For topographical reasons it would seem that Monte Cucco and the adjacent Pascolare should be included in this western group of burials. Our information concern-

⁴ N. S. 1882, p. 273.

⁵ M. A. XV, Col. 346.

⁶ N. S. 1882, p. 273.

⁷ M. A. XV, Col. 393.

ing them, however, is too slight for the basing of a positive conclusion.

II. — The tombs discovered on the north of the Alban Lake form a rather complicated system and should, perhaps, be regarded as belonging to two groups corresponding to two different settlements. The present state of our knowledge shows two separate series with the town of Marino lying between them. Assuming, however, a hypothetical prehistoric station at Marino it seems preferable to regard both series as belonging to the same site. It is certain that at Vetulonia hills on two opposite sides of the town were in use as cemeteries contemporaneously. Examples of settlements in this part of Italy where two or more locations were in use as burial ground at the same time are by no means infrequent⁸. In addition to these two separate series of tombs, one on the east and one on the west of Marino, a cremation tomb of the early first period⁹ and another (whether cremation or inhumation is uncertain) of the late first period¹⁰ of the Iron Age were unearthed at the considerable distance of three kilometers or more to the northwest of Marino. It is difficult to account for these two burials unless one regards them as merely sporadic. There seems to be little likelihood that they belong to the same system as the necropolis on the west of Marino, or that they belong to an isolated burial ground of which Marino is the base¹¹.

The series of burials at the west of Marino is known

⁸ E. g. at Corneto and Narce. It is not probable that the Esquiline necropolis at Rome belongs to the same center as the Forum sepulcretum.

⁹ *N. S.* 1903, p. 202.

¹⁰ *N. S.* 1884, p. 108.

¹¹ Perhaps they are to be associated with a settlement in the Valle Marciana. See *A. I.* 1867, p. 41.

to us by a few cremation tombs of primitive character casually unearthed in the locality called "Santi Apostoli"¹², and on Campofattore¹³; and by the extensive necropolis of Monte Crescenzo to the south of the above mentioned site. Monte Crescenzo yielded both cremation and inhumation graves and material of the later as well as the earlier period of the Iron Age. No chronological sequence can be deduced here with any degree of plausibility because of the lack of accurate records. The problem is complicated by the early excavations of 1816-17, the accounts of which do not permit us to assign with certainty the location of early, as distinguished from late material.

Among the five or six cremation tombs unearthed in the northern part of this western series was found one hut urn (List I, No. 22) known as "The Campo Fattore urn", which was inclosed in a structure described by de Rossi as a small dolmen. It was formed of artificially shaped slabs of stone standing on end in a circle, with a round cover of the same material. The accessory vases stood apart in a smaller "dolmen" of the same kind¹⁴. In the Vigna Meluzzi on Monte Crescenzo, to the south of the above, were discovered two cremation tombs *a pozzo*, one of which certainly belonged to the late first, or early second, period of the Iron Age, since it contained fine bucchero and vases in the shapes of the scyphus and cantharus. The age of the other tombs is doubtful¹⁴. It should be remarked in this connection that cremation tombs which can with certainty be assigned to the late first period of the Iron Age are extremely rare in Latium.

¹² *M. A.* XV, Col. 332.

¹³ *A. I.* 1871, p. 242; *B. C.* 1900, p. 164.

¹⁴ *M. A.* XV, Col. 388.

In so far as our data extend, the great bulk of cremation burials are confined not only to the first period, but to the early part of the first period, as will appear later in the discussion ¹⁵. A short distance to the south of the Vigna Meluzzi in the Vigna Testa, still on Monte Crescen-zio, inhumation tombs *a fossa* were unearthed. Pinza has published the contents of one of them — apparently the only one of which the material remained distinct — in his important work on the prehistoric antiquities of Rome and Latium, constituting volume fifteen of the *Monumenti Antichi* ¹⁶. The furniture consisted of two double-handled cups, an iron lance point, and two fibulae *a sanguisuga* with full arc. One fibula had inserted on it a couple of bronze rings. Of this furniture the double-handled cups are very common to both inhumation and cremation burials in the early, as well as in the late, first period of the Iron Age of Latium; the fibula *a sanguisuga*

¹⁵ The Vigna Meluzzi tomb is one of but three cremation tombs of the early Iron Age in Latium known to the writer to contain material of a later type than that found in hut urn burials.

A burial discovered between Rocca di Papa and Monte Cavo consisting of an ossuary in a *fossa* is reported to have contained "imported vases". (*B. C.* 1900, p. 207). A cremation tomb reported from the San Rocco district near Marino contained two fibulae *a navicella* with short sheath, a fibula *a navicella vuota*, and a "double handled cup with a shining cream-coloured finish". (*N. S.* 1908, p. 356). Neither of these burials is primitive.

Pinza cites references in his article on the Primitive Civilization of Latium (*B. C.* 1898, p. 197) to several late Iron Age cremation burials, but none of them bear investigation: the reports do not specify the burial rite. The misleading character of these references has been pointed out by Louise E. W. Adams in *A Study in the Commerce of Latium*, Smith College Classical Studies, No. II, April 1921, pp. 27f. Pinza's later work on this subject in *M. A.* XV does not repeat the inaccuracies.

¹⁶ Fig. 126, Col. 338.

is probably unknown in cremation graves¹⁷; the iron lance-point is totally foreign to them.

In preparing this very brief summary of the necropolis on the west of Marino the discussion has been confined to clear cases, and only to cases where there appears to be no doubt about the type of burial and the association of the material. It is my object to exclude rigidly from consideration in this connection the evidence of all finds where the element of doubt enters. Although a large amount of material is known from this section and is scattered in museums abroad as well as in Italy, it is almost valueless except for comparative purposes. In some instances sites are assignable but objects there found are not; in others, objects have been kept together as derived from single tombs but the location of the tombs is unknown. This is true not only of the excavations of 1816-17 but also to a less degree of later discoveries, as for instance the Monte Verde group of 1898¹⁸.

The series of tombs to the east of Marino is represented by sporadic finds on the site and in the vicinity of the modern cemetery, and in the hills of the Cle. Caselle. Reference has been made to the contents of one of these tombs in note fifteen (N. S. 1908, p. 356). The burials in and about the cemetery appear to have been of the cremation type, containing the ordinary primitive pottery forms and little metal. A fibula with enlarged hollow arc and long sheath points to a later phase of the first period. It is not certain that it came from a cremation grave¹⁹. The

¹⁷ I have been unable to discover a single certain instance of the finding of a fibula *a sanguisuga* in a cremation grave in Latium, although I am not prepared to declare that they never so occur, in view of the late fibulae found in the burial cited above in note 15.

¹⁸ M. A. XV, Col. 337.

¹⁹ M. A. XV, Col. 330.

data are quite fragmentary. Further to the south-east of the cemetery near the Cle. Caselle lies the Vigna Caracci where in 1860-1867 a quantity of material was uncovered which de Rossi considered to belong to hut foundations ²⁰. Pinza, however, has satisfactorily demonstrated the existence of burials rather than habitations on this spot ²¹. The discovery of a skeleton and other human bones proves the employment of the rite of inhumation. Cremation also may possibly have been practiced. The presence of *dolia*, an ossuary ²², a stratum of carbonized organic material, seems to point to the latter rite, but positive proof is lacking because no cremated remains are reported. Although the evidence is in a rather hopeless state of confusion, it is quite apparent that much of the material here found is late as compared with that yielded by the necropolis of San Sebastiano and that from the vicinity of Grottaferrata described under (III) below. The excavations in the Vigna Caracci yielded vases in the shape of the cantharus and scyphus, the latter of native bucchero; a proto-Corinthian vase with geometric ornamentation, and the fragments of another of the same kind; fibulae *a sanguisuga* and *a navicella*, some of the former similar to those of the Vigna Testa. It is significant to note that all of the eight or nine fibulae discovered on this site

²⁰ A. I. 1867, p. 42.

²¹ B. C. 1900, p. 208.

²² The recipient designated as an "ossuary" may, in fact, not have been used as such. The types of urn used for this scope in Latium are so various that it is hazardous to assert the use of a particular urn as ossuary without further evidence. It seems quite certain that jars in ordinary domestic use were sometimes adapted to this purpose. (See B. C. 1900, Pl. XIII, Fig. 19 for illustration of the so-called ossuary). Furthermore this jar was found in a *fossa*. The finding of ossuaries in *fosse* is so unusual as to cast further doubt upon the designation of this object. There is no metal reported from this burial.

belong to these two comparatively late types. Fibulae of the simple arc variety and a *serpeggiante* are conspicuous by their absence. We shall find that this is also true of the later burials in the Roman Forum.

III. — The necropolis beyond the Valle Marciana to the north-east of Grottaferrata is known to us from excavations at two points in the Vigna Giusti and in the Villa Cavalletti. All tombs so far unearthed in this district are of the cremation class and are distinguished by the homogeneity of their material. Its similarity to the material yielded by the San Sebastiano tombs and the single hut urn burial of Campo Fattore is pronounced.

Among the burials in the Vigna Giusti was a hut urn (Fig. 5 ; List I, No. 15) found inclosed in a pit floored and walled with rough stones and covered with a slab. In other instances ossuaries were found deposited in *dolia*. The pottery was all of the most primitive type of native manufacture. Mention is made of one fibula *ad arco serpeggiante* with elbow and spiral disk. There is no mention of iron²³.

The most satisfactory record we possess of an excavation in an Iron Age site of the Alban Hills is that of the Villa Cavalletti described by Colini and Mengarelli in the "Notizie degli Scavi" for 1902 (pp. 135-198). A large quantity of material is carefully classified and illustrated in this article but, unfortunately, it had not been kept distinct except in the case of some eight tombs. No less than six hut urns (List I, Nos. 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21), and five ossuaries (List II, Nos. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13; No. 10 is reproduced in Fig. 24) with hut urn covers were found on this site. The urns are of crude workmanship. One only shows any attempt at decoration.

²³ B. C. 1900, p. 159.

In this respect they contrast decidedly with the single hut urn of San Sebastiano. All of the pottery unearthed in the Villa Cavalletti, excepting a single vase, is of the primitive type common to other necropolises in Latium of the earliest Italic civilization. The forms yielded by the San Sebastiano excavation find their duplicates here, only in greater abundance. There are some variations of familiar forms but, in spite of the more plentiful material, little is really strange to the former site. The Villa Cavalletti yielded two miniature tables or tripods, a few examples of a "bottle-vase" and so-called "candelabra", all of clay, which are without duplicate at San Sebastiano. Tables of this description, however, have been found at other spots in this part of the Alban Hills, and also associated with the earliest burials in the Roman Forum. A "candelabrum" similar to those of the Villa Cavalletti formed part of the furniture of a hut urn from the vicinity of Castel Gandolfo and Marino published by Visconti. Furthermore the bottle vases are apparently nothing but a variety of the askos which was found at San Sebastiano ²⁴.

In spite of primitive forms there is considerable variety evident in the necropolis under consideration in the quality of the *impasto* and the skill of the potter. The double-handled cups, of which about thirty examples were found, are the best objects to study in this connection since they are of constant occurrence and seem especially to have

²⁴ N. S. 1902, p. 187. See Figs. 95, 96 for tripods; Fig. 100 for candelabrum; Figs. 88a, b, for bottle-vase. A bottle-vase of somewhat different form was found later in the Forum Sepulcretum. See N. S. 1905, p. 172, Fig. 45 and compare with N. S. 1902, p. 163, Fig. 53.

The ossuaries of the Villa Cavalletti show greater variety of form than those of San Sebastiano.

provoked the finest efforts of the workman. It is unsafe, however, except in a very general way, to attempt to explain such variations as owing to chronological differences between the rougher and finer fabrics. Much of the latter may well be contemporary with the former. Good workmanship and methods have thrived alongside bad workmanship and methods in all ages. The development of native ceramics furnishes a sound basis for chronological distinction only at the point where it begins to imitate the newer imported forms, material, or ornamentation, and roughly at the dividing line between the primitive *impasto* and the later *bucchero*, when products of so-called "indigenous *bucchero*" first begin to appear.

Among the pottery of the necropolis of the Villa Cavalletti were fragments of a double-handled cup made of potter's clay (*argilla figulina*), with a creamy yellow surface; its bottom was raised and its body decorated with bosses (*bugnette*). The presence of this object when taken in conjunction with certain other vases showing improved technique is sufficient to warrant the assumption that burials in this locality extended over an appreciable period, archaeologically speaking.

A cup *ad ansa biforata* of almost pure clay and with thin light walls was also found in one of the tombs on the Esquiline. The material associated with it was such as to indicate that this burial, too, belonged to the early first period of the Iron Age. Referring to this cup, Pinza declares that it is "certainly an imitation of geometric vases in purified clay²⁵". The excavators of the Villa Cavalletti necropolis regarded the double-handled cup

²⁵ *M. A.* XV, Col. 79—tomb 19. Pinza does not refer to the Cavalletti example as an imported object. Cf. *M. A.* XV, Col. 357, tomb 199.

there found as an imported object. It seems impossible to believe, however, that it was imported from the East. It is a true Italic form with a long lineage. When importation of Greek pottery begins, it is foreign forms that are introduced, not native types that are reproduced in the new material and according to the new technique. One is tempted to regard Campania as the source of these two cups, inasmuch as the form is common there, and the pre-Hellenic tombs of Cumae have yielded a few vases of potter's clay imitating early Greek vase-types.

In bronze objects the Villa Cavalletti shows much greater variety than the San Sebastiano necropolis. Considering the circumstances under which the material in the latter was disinterred, however, it seems probable that many small objects escaped notice and were lost. Five or six laminated disks measuring 35 to 40 millimeters in diameter decorated with concentric circles of bosses should be mentioned. They may have been used for amulets worn around the neck or as pendants on fibulae. Other bronzes were symbolical: lances, razors, and a knife with convex-concave blade (*a lama serpeggiante*). A razor with rectangular blade was a unique find. The fibulae were all of the older types notwithstanding three subvarieties which were new for the Alban region. No fibulae *a sanguisuga* or *a navicella* were in evidence.

Although the finding of iron objects is not expressly denied, the fact that there is no mention of them where the record of all other material is so complete is equivalent, it would seem, to a negation of their presence.

One of the hut urns referred to above contained a fine coil of gold wire and a few amber beads. A very small quantity of amber was also found in some of the other tombs. There were no glass or enamel objects.

A single cremation tomb *a pozzo* was discovered to the south of the Vigna Giusti in the Boschetto near the Capanne. Its six subsidiary vases all have close parallels in the terramara pottery. It contained no metal ²⁶.

Colini assigns the Boschetto tomb to the end of the Bronze Age or the beginning of the Iron Age, while he is inclined to place the Cavalletti necropolis somewhat later. One of the two reasons given for the more recent date of the latter is the fact that many of the *impasto* vases show the influence of similar objects in beaten bronze ²⁷. A good example of the influence of bronze technique is to be seen in the illustration of a certain double-handled cup ²⁸.

The harsh, angular outlines of this specimen seem to betray the metal-worker rather than the potter. The round depressions in regular rows on the bottom may represent studs. Metal cups of this type were found in the hoard of Coste del Marano north of Tolfa in southern Etruria ²⁹. There is no lack of undoubted instances of the imitation of metal objects in clay in the first period of the Iron Age. It will be sufficient to call to mind the terracotta helmets used as covers for Villanova ossuaries at Corneto ³⁰.

It is difficult to see, however, how the mere imitation of the metal worker's technique as such can be taken as a criterion for dating pottery in Latium or Etruria in any particular part or period of the Age of Iron. Colini himself admits the lamination of bronze in the Aegean area

²⁶ B. C. 1900, p. 363. Some of the forms are also close to certain aëneolithic vases.

²⁷ N. S. 1902, p. 196.

²⁸ N. S. 1902, p. 175, Fig. 77.

²⁹ See Figs. 5 and 6, Tav. XI, of B. P. 1909.

³⁰ Cf. N. S. 1907, p. 55.

in the Mycenaean age and even in pre-Mycenaean times ; and the existence of metallic recipients in Sicily at a date anterior to the end of the Italic Bronze Age ³¹. He also dates the hoard of Coste del Marano with its bronze cups in the transition period between the Bronze and Iron Age " previous to the most archaic necropolises of Latium and Etruria ³² ". But there is one consideration more than any other that would seem to militate against Colini's opinion of the significance of laminated bronze and its imitation in aiding to date Iron Age finds. One of the two Palombara Sabina tombs, which Colini considers contemporary with the Boschetto tomb ³³ and hence earlier than the Cavalletti necropolis, yielded an object described by Pinza as the " rim of a vase in laminated bronze " ³⁴. The art of beating bronze into thin plate being known, then, in Italy at so early a date, it is but natural to expect to find the influence of this technique on pottery in any Iron Age burial no matter how early, or in the transition period, for that matter, because approximate dating only is possible. As a matter of fact laminated bronze itself occurs, though only in minute quantities, in these early Italic burials. Mention has been made above of discs of this material among the bronze objects from the Villa Cavalletti, and a similar disk was yielded by one of the Vigna Giusti tombs.

It should be made clear that it is not Colini's actual chronological arrangement — an arrangement moreover that he sets forth with much reserve — that is here called into question, but merely the cogency of evidence of laminated bronze influence on ceramics as data in determin-

³¹ *B. P.* 1910, p. 99.

³² *B. P.* 1909, p. 105.

³³ *N. S.* 1902, p. 196.

³⁴ *M. A.* XV, Col. 325.

ing Iron Age chronology. The Boschetto tomb certainly bears the impress of greater antiquity than the Cavalletti burials in so far as can be judged from the disarranged material of the latter.

The double-handled cup of potter's clay is an anomaly and in some respects a *crux*. It is most easily explicable on the assumption of an early station in touch with the more advanced eastern methods. It presumably found its way into the Alban Hills from some coast-wise settlement in Campania, or even in Latium, in the same manner as the spiral of gold wire must have done. There is this distinction, however : in the case of the latter object the form as well as the material is foreign³⁵; in the case of the former the form at least is native.

Double handles (*anse bifore* or *biforate*) appear in widely separated Bronze Age stations in northern Italy³⁶. Cups of the Latian type but with simple handles were yielded by the terramare of Gorzano and Reggio. By a comparison with the illustrations in Montelius (Civ. I, Pl. 17, Fig. 24, and Pl. 25, Fig. 7) it will be seen that similarities with the Iron Age cups even extend to the saddle shown by the Cavalletti example. If one believes that in the high double-handled *impasto* cups of the tombs of Latium and Etruria an attempt is made to imitate the ribbon handles of metal cups such as were yielded by the hoard of Coste del Marano, the utility of this kind of handle becomes obvious. The transverse bar through the handle dividing it into two parts not only afforded a firmer grasp for the fingers but strengthened it — an almost necessary precaution in view of the weaker material.

³⁵ The gold spiral is conjectured to be a sort of hair ornament. Other examples were found at Corneto and elsewhere. See *B. I.* 1874, p. 61.

³⁶ *N. S.* 1902, p. 176; *B. P.* 1897, p. 79.

Summarizing the results of our observations on the Alban burials the following fairly definite conclusions are reached.

1. — There is more than one necropolis in this region with a corresponding plurality of primitive settlements.

2. — The only location where it is certain that inhumation burials were mingled with cremation is at the west and south-west of Marino.

3. — There are several areas where it is certain that there was no intermingling of inhumation and cremation burials, and two of these areas (San Sebastiano and the Grottaferrata group) have yielded considerable material, including hut urns. (These areas will be referred to hereafter as "exclusively cremation areas").

4. — No hut urns the provenience of which is known were found in proximity to inhumation graves.

5. — The material of the cremation areas in which hut urns are found is remarkably homogeneous.

6. — There is no record of iron occurring in any cremation burial.

7. — No arms except symbolical arms³⁷, and no lunate razors occur in the cremation burials.

8. — The *fibulae* found in the two more important cremation areas mentioned in (3) are all varieties of the following type: *ad arco semplice*, *ad arco rovescio*, and *ad arco serpeggiante*. No type other than these three has been found in hut urn burials.

9. — Beads of glass or paste do not occur in cremation tombs.

³⁷ An exception should perhaps be made here in the case of knives *a lama serpeggiante*. But are they to be regarded as arms? For one of these objects in a cremation burial see *M. A.* XV, Col. 332, tomb 200.

10. — Painted vases do not occur in cremation tombs.

11. — There are very few verifiable instances of cremation tombs which differ in their contents from the typical primitive burials. The exceptional tombs contained bucchero, vases of Greek form, and fibulae *a navicella*.

12. — The only objects of certain foreign importation yielded by cremation tombs are amber in very small quantities, and a single gold spiral.

13. — One inhumation grave contained an iron weapon together with fibulae *a sanguisuga*; others contained bucchero and an early Greek vase.

In addition to the burials treated above there are numerous ossuaries with funeral furniture on exhibition in museums under such circumstances that it seems quite probable that, though some of the material has gone astray, none is wrongly attributed in the particular group. This is especially true of the hut urns in the Vatican Museum discovered during the course of the earliest excavations (List I, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5), and of certain urns in the Prehistoric Museum at Rome (List I, Nos. 11, 13, 24) coming from divers localities in the Alban Hills. The furniture of such tombs has been carefully examined without finding anything contradictory to the above summary (6-12).

Near Velletri in the Vigna D'Andrea a hut urn was discovered in a cavity lined with converging courses of stones and covered with a slab similar to the Vigna Giusti hut urn tomb. (List I, No. 23). Barnabei mentions in the report³⁸ a fibula *a sanguisuga* found in the burial, referring to an illustration which for some reason is omitted. Pinza has republished the burial in the Monumenti

³⁸ N. S. 1893, p. 210.

Antichi (XV, Col. 343) with an illustration of the fibula (Fig. 128) which is not of the *sanguisuga* type but is *ad arco semplice (affusato)*. Barnabei's statement that fibulae *a sanguisuga* are frequently found with hut urns is absolutely erroneous (See point 8, in the summary above). Fibulae *a sanguisuga* are never found with hut urn burials in Latium.

Near the Velletri urn were found indications of another similar tomb destroyed at some previous time. The place of discovery (I quote from the report) was "in the region of the ancient necropolis; but it is not known whether there is a succession of burials between this point and the part of the necropolis which has furnished Etruscan tombs *a cunicolo* and, superimposed in strata, later tombs down to the Byzantine epoch".

II. — HUT URN BURIALS OF ROME

1. — THE ESQUILINE NECROPOLIS.

Our knowledge of the Esquiline necropolis is due to the results of Pinza's labours who, after a thorough examination of the incomplete and careless reports of excavations and a minute investigation of the material collected in the municipal museum, identifies ninety-four distinct burials and seventy so-called "groups" of burials¹. In respect to the latter it may be said that in the majority of cases each "group" represents a single sepulcher, but the data are less complete than in the case of the individual burials. As the matter stands our knowledge of this necropolis can never be more than fragmentary. This must necessarily be true of an area where the soil has been turned over repeatedly for so many centuries. Interments took place at various points on this part of the Esquiline from the early Iron Age to the time of Augustus. Later burials must inevitably have destroyed earlier ones. The *agger* and *fossa* of Servius (so-called) intersected the field. Building operations succeeded on a large scale in Roman and modern times. Add to this the interference of streets and building foundations, and the very inexpert way in which such excavations as were made have been conducted, and it will

¹ *M. A.* XV (1905), Col. 43f. See also Von Duhn I, pp. 468 ff.

be seen how incomplete and unsatisfactory the data must be with which we have to deal.

Thanks to Lanciani and Pinza we possess maps² showing the approximate location of the one hundred and sixty-four tombs and groups mentioned in the preceding paragraph. Group 112 contained the fragments of the only hut urn brought to light in this necropolis (List I, No. 30). They seem to have been found in a *fossa* on the north-west side of the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele outside the line of the fourth century wall. Their restoration is problematical. A close examination of the ossuary as restored in the Museo dei Conservatori did not thoroughly convince me that the fragments were really part of a hut urn, although it has been accepted as such in the list appended. The only other object recorded in this "group" — which apparently consists of a single tomb — was a double-handled cup of *impasto*. That the group originally included other accessory material seems quite likely.

The other groups which occur in closest proximity to the above burial are eight in number, and are briefly characterized below. The mere fact, however, that they chance to be nearest the supposed hut urn interment has no significance in respect to the age of the latter. In an area which has been re-used as a cemetery so often as the Esquiline no chronological deduction can be drawn from the nearness of one burial to another without other corroborating evidence. A detailed description of the contents of these tombs so far as they are known, will be found in Monumenti Antichi XV. Group 114 was a cremation burial. The ossuary was of *pietra Gabina* shaped like

² Lanciani, *Forma Urbis Romae*, sheet No. XXIII; Pinza, *M. A. XV*, Tav. XXV.

a cabin. As no accessory material was found it is impossible to conjecture its age. As to the seven other groups, the mode of burial, whether cremation or inhumation, is not specified. Group 111 yielded only objects of personal adornment including *fibulae a sanguisuga* both with hollow and solid arcs, bronze rings, and a fragment of crystal. Group 113 contained three *fibulae a navicella* with hollow arc and other bronze rings. Also a pendant of peculiar type found in group 113 was identical to one found in group 111. This fact and the general similarity of the other accessory material of the two groups lead to the inference that they were related. Group 115 contained three ordinary vases of the primitive period — one of them a double-handled cup. Group 118 contained a lecythus, an amphora, and an olpe all painted with geometric patterns. Groups 119-120 consisted of three *fosse* all oriented east and west and placed at a distance of about a meter from one another. The first trench was empty. The second contained a rudely painted cup of potter's clay, and a fragment of a wheel-turned double-handled cup; a dagger, a knife blade, and a lance point were all of iron. The third trench yielded one large *fibula a sanguisuga* with solid arc and eight smaller *fibulae* of the same class, beads of blue glass and considerable amber. Group 123 must also have been a *tomba a fossa* since it, too, is mentioned in the reports as oriented east to west. It contained two double-handled cups, fragments of painted pottery, and pieces of weapons, partly iron and partly bronze.

The above description has been added for what it may be worth. The relative position of the various groups with reference to one another is indicated on the map in only a very general way. It will be observed that but one of these groups (115) failed to yield material inconsistent

with that of the necropolis of San Sebastiano and Grottaferrata and other primitive cremation burials of the Alban Hills. In other words group 115, in so far as our information concerning it extends, might be considered contemporary with the earliest of cremation burials in Latium. The other six groups (111, 113, 118, 119-120, 123) all contained furniture pointing to a later period. Groups 119-120 are almost certainly contemporary. In view of the fact that groups 119-120 and group 123 were *fossa* burials and there is no record of any ossuary having been found with them, the evidence that they represent inhumation burials is all but conclusive. Mention of the finding of human bones in the Esquiline necropolis is rarely made owing to the brevity of the reports. The dating of these six burials is somewhat problematical. There is nothing in their contents inconsistent with assigning them to the first period³. It can be considered certain, however, that they are later than any of the burials in the exclusively cremation areas of the Alban Hills.

Aside from the enigmatical recipients of *pietra Gabina* of an indefinite number, very few cases of cremation are demonstrable in the Esquiline necropolis. The number of demonstrable inhumation burials is considerably larger. If one cares to add to these the uncertain instances where the evidence points to the latter rather than the former rite, the disparity between the aggregate of cremation and inhumation burials increases. There seems to be little doubt that the Esquiline cemetery as we know it, taking into consideration the statements in the opening paragraph of this chapter, is in the main an inhumation cemetery.

³ Pinza assigns groups 112, 119 (the second trench) to the first period; groups 111, 113, 118, 120, 123, all to the second period. See *B. C.* 1912, p. 25, notes 1 and 2.

After a careful examination of the available material I find only four certain instances of cremation in the Esquiline necropolis aside from the ossuaries of *pietra Gabina*, which contain little accessory material and that of a non-committal kind. Besides the hut urn, tombs 11, 48, and 58 in Pinza's list were unquestionably of the cremation rite. This number should not be stated as final, perhaps. Others may add to the list. It is difficult to give exact figures in a matter where the facts are so inexactly recorded. The material of the three tombs (11, 48, 58) is all of the primitive type common to the earliest Iron Age burials. Several wheel-turned *impasto* vases, however, bear witness that the beginning of the first period was past. The ossuary of tomb 58 is of a modified Villanova form. The two fibulae reported are of the *arco semplice* type. There was no iron, painted pottery or glass, nor were there weapons of any description.

Among the thirty or more sure cases of inhumation burial a few, in respect to their furniture, are not distinguishable from the primitive type of cremation burial with which we have become familiar⁴. By far the larger number, however, differ in more or less important particulars. Attention will be confined here solely to those inhumation tombs which appear to belong to the later development of the first period of the Iron Age, since the second period does not come under the scope of this study. In addition to articles which are common to the exclusively

⁴ See especially tombs 7, 9, 46, 47, 62, and 68. Tombs 7, 46, and 47 are very poor. No. 7 possessed bronze fragments of unknown objects; 62 a bronze chain which does not appear to be duplicated in cremation burials; 68 yielded "three pear-shaped objects with bosses on the body" which no longer exist in the museum. This comparison is not intended to extend to the question of the *completeness* of the equipment of individual burials.

cremation areas in the Alban Hills and to the cremation tombs of the Esquiline cited above, Esquiline tomb 1 contained a fibula with an elongated sheath, and a spool (*rocchetto*) of terracotta⁵; tomb 3 yielded enamel and glass beads and fibulae *a sanguisuga*; tomb 4, a large fibula *a sanguisuga* formed on a nucleus, enamel beads, two silver rings, an iron knife-blade; tomb 10, a fibula *a sanguisuga* and enamel and glass beads; tomb 13, a painted amphora; tomb 14, a painted askos of unusual type and a plaque of laminated bronze; tomb 17, a fibula with triple arc and amber discs on its protruding end; tomb 33, a bronze lance point; tomb 51, glass beads; tomb 65, a terracotta *ciambella*; tomb 74, iron lance points and a painted cup of potter's clay; tomb 86, a breastplate of laminated bronze and a lunate razor; group 101, four fibulae *a navicella* with hollow arc. Among these burials the double-handled cup is of almost constant occurrence. Two such objects commonly occur in a single tomb. When this is the case they are usually of two sizes, and the smaller is frequently found placed inside of the larger. The double-handled cup is the object of most frequent occurrence which is common to both the inhumation and cremation rites. The material enumerated above is quite typical of many other Esquiline graves of which the unsatisfactory character of our sources precludes the fixing with certainty of the burial rite.

The finding of so few ascertainable instances of cremation among a much larger number of inhumation burials, most of which certainly belong to a later period, invites

⁵ Although terracotta spindle-whorls are not uncommon I am not cognizant of a single *rocchetto* in the exclusively cremation areas near Lago Albano. They have been found in the Alban Hills however. It is safe to say they are uncommon in this locality. See *N. S.* 1902, p. 188, Figs. 97 and 99 for objects resembling *rocchetti*.

comparison with other necropolises in this part of Italy, and especially with those of Terni and Caracupa.

The necropolis of Terni is described as belonging to a period in which inhumation was practiced, but as preserving the traces of an antecedent period of incineration. In a number of cases the ashes of the earlier burials through religious scruple were carefully preserved and reinterred in the superposed *fossa* graves ⁶.

At Caracupa (near Sermoneta on the railway from Velletri to Terracina) eighty-one tombs were unearthed, of which only four were of the incineration rite ⁷.

Two cremation burials occupied the same excavation and were separated by a stone partition. Each in addition to primitive pottery of *impasto* contained a lance point of bronze. A third cremation tomb was without furniture. In a fourth tomb of *fossa* type a few fragments of burned bones were found, and at one extremity of the trench the crowns of several teeth which showed no signs of burning. As there was no ossuary it appears that the inhumation burial had intersected a cremation tomb and that the ashes of the latter had been preserved, as is so often the case. The *fossa* contained iron and bronze.

Excepting one burial of an exceptional character which yielded a number of proto-Corinthian vases and fine black bucchero, all the inhumation graves were of a fairly uniform character. The pottery recovered from them was of *impasto* and consisted principally of the forms common to the Iron Age burials of Rome and the Alban Hills. In addition there were some pieces which betrayed an evident tendency to imitate the shapes of the olpe and cylix. In respect to metal, however, these burials differed greatly from the cremation tombs

⁶ N.S. 1907, p. 597; Von Duhn, pp. 196 ff.

⁷ N.S. 1903, p. 293.

of Latium in that they contained lebetes and pyxides of laminated bronze, iron lance points, swords, lunate razors and fibulae *a navicella*. The excavators, Savignoni and Mengarelli, dated this necropolis between that of the Villa Cavalletti and the Bernardini tomb of Praeneste "but nearer the latter than the former⁸".

The known facts to be summarized in respect to the Esquiline necropolis are few and are based upon a relatively small percentage of scattered burials. They will be found, however, to possess a certain corroborative value when considered together with the evidence derived from other necropolises. The second observation, for example, indicates that there is nothing to show that the cremation burials of the Esquiline differ materially from those of the Villa Cavalletti, or San Sebastiano, or, as will appear in the sequel, from those of the Forum.

1. — In the Esquiline necropolis no distinct cremation areas are known. A small number of cremation graves are found scattered among an apparently larger number of inhumation graves.

2. — The few certain cases of cremation burial (including one hut urn) contain no material foreign to the exclusively cremation areas in the Alban Hills. (See (3) of summary on the Alban burials).

3. — There are inhumation burials which cannot be distinguished in respect to their contents from the early cremation burials.

4. — The majority of indubitable inhumation burials of the first period of the Iron Age yield fibulae *a sanguisuga* and *a navicella*, iron, glass beads, arms, or painted geometric ware. One contained silver; one a lunate razor; one a *rocchetto*.

⁸ N.S. 1903, p. 298.

2. — THE FORUM SEPULCRETUM.

It is a pleasure to turn from the incomplete data with which we have had to contend up to this point to the full and accurate records of the burials in the Forum. The excavations conducted in this quarter by Senator Boni at various times between the years 1902 and 1911, and the published reports of the same, leave little to be desired in the way of precise information. It is only at the very end of the work that a tendency is observable to slight the details⁹.

That part of the original necropolis which is known to us and which has been termed the "Sepulcretum" lies in a comparatively undisturbed area along the Sacra Via between the south-east corner of the temple of Antoninus Pius and Faustina and the west wall of the so-called "Carcer".

The graves were found at a depth of from fifteen to twenty feet beneath the level of the Forum in the time of the Empire. That this constitutes only a part of the ancient burial-ground there can be no doubt, but the monuments of Roman times have prevented further investigation. The Romans themselves gave the name of "Doliola" to the locality because of the finding of cremation burials, evidently in the course of the reconstruction of the Cloaca Maxima near the Basilica Aemilia¹⁰. In

⁹ *N. S.* 1902, pp. 96-111; 1903, pp. 123-170; 375-427; 1905, pp. 145-193; 1906, pp. 5-46; 253-294; 1911, pp. 157-190. The material is all splendidly arranged in the Forum Museum where I had the opportunity of studying it through the courtesy of the Senatore. It is to be regretted that this museum is not yet open to the public. See also Von Duhn I, pp. 458 ff.

¹⁰ See Varro, *L. L.* V, 157 quoted by Boni in *N. S.* 1911, p. 190.

1904 also, when the base of the equestrian statue of Domitian which stood in the center of the Forum was being excavated, a hollowed travertine block was found embedded in the concrete core and containing five vases of primitive type. They had been preserved evidently on account of religious scruples¹¹. For the same reasons expectionation was prohibited in the Doliola.

In the Forum, as in the Esquiline necropolis, cremation and inhumation burials are intermingled. About fifty graves in all were found crowded promiscuously within the narrow limits defined above. Two ossuaries (one a hut urn) each contained the ashes of two persons. An inhumation tomb in addition to the remains of a skeleton yielded a terracotta vessel filled with human ashes¹². The pressure for space at this spot led to the occasional truncation of one grave by another which, in turn, has supplied us with valuable data to be considered in the sequel.

The cremation tombs are the first to be considered. Several ossuaries with their accessory material were found in pits (*pozzi*) protected in one way or another by rough pieces of tufa. The larger number, however, were inclosed for additional protection in *dolia* the mouths of which were covered by rude slabs of stone. These two methods of interment tally with the description given by de Rossi of the laying of the San Sebastiano tombs.

¹¹ Huelsen, *The Roman Forum* (Eng. trans. 1906), p. 139.

¹² That the two rites were practiced in the same family in Roman times is demonstrated by a curious monument. In the National Museum at Rome there is a sarcophagus cover with an *olla* inserted or hollowed therein. In the latter were evidently placed the ashes of the wife whose husband was laid in the sarcophagus. The figure of the husband is represented on the lid holding his wife's bust. See Van Buren, *Journal of Roman Studies*, 1913, p. 142.

The two principal types of *dolia* taken from the Forum Sepulcretum were the elongated oval truncated at the mouth, and the so-called "heart shaped" (*cuoriforme*) jar. Both of these types are paralleled in the Villa Cavalletti necropolis, which in addition yielded several of a third variety not found in the Forum.

The ossuaries too were similar to those of the Alban Hills. The necropolis now under discussion yielded five hut urns (List I, Nos. 25-29), and one recipient for ashes with a cover in the form of a hut roof (List II, No. 15). A tall ossuary with a single handle resembling a huge tea-cup is almost identical with one from the Villa Cavalletti¹³. Both necropolises employed amphorae as cinerary urns¹⁴, and vessels with *bugnette* in the place of handles¹⁵. No ossuaries with two perpendicular handles on either side such as occurred in the Villa Cavalletti were found in the Forum, although urns of this type are by no means peculiar to the former necropolis¹⁶. It would be possible to enter into minuter comparisons of the Forum burials with those of the Esquiline and the Alban Hills, but it would be beside our purpose. No one can doubt their relationship, or deny that they belong to a same culture stage. It is not meant by this that they are all strictly contemporary, but merely that they represent a single, uninterrupted development of one people without the intrusion of foreign elements¹⁷.

This fact is especially borne out by an examination

¹³ N. S. 1905, p. 176, Fig. 51; 1902, p. 161, Fig. 49.

¹⁴ Cf. N. S. 1906, p. 20, Fig. 17 with N. S. 1902, p. 162, Fig. 50. See M. A. XV, Pl. IV, Fig. 17, for an example from the Esquiline.

¹⁵ N. S. 1906, p. 279, Fig. 27; 1902, p. 161, Fig. 48.

¹⁶ See N. S. 1902, p. 140, Fig. 11.

¹⁷ This statement perhaps does not apply to the cremation burials in ossuaries of *pietra Gabina*.

of the accessory material of the Forum burials. The similarity here to the great mass of cremation depositions in other parts of Latium is most evident. Among the ceramics is found the same sort of double-handled cup and there is little variation in the single-handled type; the same flat bowls, vases with reticulate relief, spindle whorls, small amphorae, lamps fashioned like barks¹⁸, a *calefattoio*, a miniature tripod. The *impasto* is the same. Firing is imperfect and traces of the wheel are almost invariably lacking. The ornamentation is in the same stage of development. Forms found in the Forum which do not occur in the burials we have hitherto examined are so few that they may easily be accounted for as owing to local variations. A couple of rude, miniature goblets on a high foot¹⁹ and an object having the appearance of a cruet²⁰ may be mentioned as extreme examples. It should be observed in passing that no cremation tomb in the Forum contained pottery of such technical merit as a few specimens from the Villa Cavalletti, and no vase of potter's clay appeared. On the other hand one of the hut urns in the former area was painted, a method of ornamentation not in evidence in the latter area.

The extreme poverty in metal objects of the burials in which incineration was practiced is remarkable. Five of the thirteen tombs where this rite was observed were absolutely destitute of everything save earthenware²¹.

¹⁸ There is considerable diversity shown in these forms, but compare the likeness of two *barchette* — one from the Forum and the other from the Villa Cavalletti — which even extends to the human feet on which they stand. N.S. 1903, p. 154, Fig. 32; 1902, p. 182, Fig. 92.

¹⁹ N.S. 1905, p. 174, Fig. 48; 1906, p. 287, Fig. 34. These are numerous at Bisenzio.

²⁰ N.S. 1906, p. 15, Fig. 11.

²¹ Tombs A (N.S. 1902, p. 99); N (N.S. 1905, p. 171); R (N.S. 1906, p. 17); X (N.S. 1906, p. 275); DD (N.S. 1911, p. 165).

Six contained a single bronze object ²². The remaining tombs yielded (1) the spring of a fibula and two indeterminate fragments of bronze, which may possibly belong to the same fibula and (2) other fragments ²³. The six bronze objects consisted of three fibulae *ad arco serpeggiante*, one with the bow slightly *a rigonfio*, and two rings. The ossuary containing one of the latter articles also yielded two amber beads. The first ossuary mentioned as containing bronze fragments also yielded small bone ornaments and a spiral of gold wire similar to the example cited from the Villa Cavalletti. This completes the inventory. As in all other cremation burials of Latium, so far as we have been able to determine, no iron is present. As in the exclusively cremation areas of the Alban Hills and the cremation tombs of the Esquiline there is the same absence of fibulae *a sanguisuga* and *a navicella*, of glass or paste beads, of painted vases, bucchero, arms, and lunate razors.

The scarcity of metal in the Forum Sepulcretum is paralleled in other cremation burials of Latium. We have seen that the Boschetto tomb contained none. The same is true of Esquiline tomb number 58, of one of the few Cavalletti tombs of which the material was kept separated, of the cremation tombs of Campo Fattore whose material appears to be complete ²⁴, of a sporadic tomb discovered in the Vigna Capri ²⁵. Other burials contained one metal object each — the tomb of Fontana di Papa ²⁶, the Velletri hut urn (List I, No. 23), a Cavalletti tomb. A few

²² Tombs Q, S, T, U, V, Y all in *N. S.* 1906, pp. 9, 22, 31, 39, 265 and 287 respectively.

²³ Tombs GG (*N. S.* 1911, p. 169); C (*N. S.* 1903, p. 153).

²⁴ *M. A.* XV, Col. 328—tomb 187.

²⁵ *N. S.* 1903, p. 202.

²⁶ A knife blade. *M. A.* XV, Col. 332—tomb 200.

yielded a single fibula with from one to three rings suspended upon it, or rings without the fibula. A hut urn published by Visconti (List I, No. 1) contained two bronze objects: a fibula and a wheel-shaped hairpin head. Esquiline tomb number 11, the Vigna Giusti hut urn (List I, No. 15), and a hut urn now in the British Museum (List I, No. 7) were comparatively rich. The second mentioned contained no less than five bronze articles. The last mentioned appears to be unique in the possession of two fibulae. It cannot be regarded as certain that the furniture is absolutely complete in all the above burials, but I have omitted the consideration of those where there is evidence of incompleteness. This rather minute cataloging of objects will be serviceable for comparative purposes at a later point in the investigation when some of the far richer tombs of Etruria are discussed.

Three only of the eight ordinary ossuaries in the Forum contained bronze. This is perhaps significant in view of the fact that bronze was found in all five hut urns. It was also from hut urns that the amber beads and gold spiral were taken²⁷. It will be remembered that the only other gold object which has come to our attention was also yielded by a hut urn and that it, too, contained amber²⁸. Although the data from which we have to judge are limited, it is manifest that in Latium hut urn burials exceed in richness the other cremation burials of the primitive period.

The Forum Sepulcretum just as the Esquiline necropolis, includes inhumation burials of the first period containing material indistinguishable from that of the cremation burials. There are at least eight such, four of

²⁷ Tombs Q, GG.

²⁸ A Villa Cavalletti tomb. Cf. *N. S.* 1902. p. 151.

which are without metal ²⁹. Three of those with metal contained one fibula each. The remaining tomb was more abundantly supplied with bronze. From the character of the funeral furniture it is reasonable to believe that these inhumation tombs are contemporary with the ones in which incineration was practiced. No argument that the two rites were observed simultaneously, however, can be derived from the fact that an ossuary filled with ashes was found deposited in inhumation tomb P P. The ossuary may have been preserved from a previous deposition. The *fossa* (PP) contained eight vases of the primitive Latian type such as are yielded by the cremation burials, and a fibula *ad arco semplice*.

In addition to the primitive burials there is a group of six or seven inhumation graves excavated in the Forum Sepulcretum which are too late to fall under the purview of this study, but which are serviceable in the attempt to fix a *terminus ad quem* to the preceding development ³⁰. There are two questions to be considered in reference to this group. One has to do with the contemporaneity of the individual graves; the other with the time when they were laid.

The burial method as well as the contents of these graves clearly indicates that they were laid at approximately the same time. The body in every case was extended at full length in a section of oak-trunk hollowed out to

²⁹ Inhumation tombs with metal: B (N.S. 1903, p. 131); P (N.S. 1905, p. 182); KK (N.S. 1911, p. 182); PP (N.S. 1911, p. 187). Inhumation tombs without metal and containing only primitive material: Tombs JJ, EE, HH, OO in N.S. 1911, pp. 166, 167, 178, 185 respectively. Other inhumation tombs contained no furniture at all.

³⁰ Tombs D, G, I, K in N.S. 1903, pp. 159, 379, 394, 416 respectively; M-M' (N.S. 1905, pp. 150, 168); AA (N.S. 1911, p. 157).

serve as a coffin. On the bodies were placed in their proper position the objects of personal adornment, and at the head and feet vases of various sorts. With the exception of a lance point of such small size that it was considered a plaything, the depositions included no arms. It is probable that the inhumed were all children ³¹.

No one of these burials failed to yield objects that were not duplicated in one or more of the other burials of the class. Four yielded spherical vases of red terracotta of precisely the same type in each case ³². Four also yielded flat bowls painted with horizontal bands in the geometric style ³³. Two contained amphorae of the Nicosthenes type of native manufacture with the same kind of incised decoration, which consists of double spirals, lines extending from the shoulder to the bottom of the vase, and schematized birds. One showed a Phoenician palmette on the neck ³⁴. Two of the graves also yielded ovoid lecythi of proto-Corinthian form with broad flat lip, ribbon handle, and a painted band of running dogs in silhouette ³⁵. Iron was present in several of the depositions ³⁶. In one tomb there was an unusual profusion of bronze jewelry, fibulae, amulets, pendants, and amber and glass beads ³⁷.

The comparatively large number of geometric vases yielded by these burials taken in conjunction with the appearance of proto-Corinthian forms (the lecythi mentioned above and two scyphi) gives a basis for the determination of their age.

³¹ It is certain that in almost all cases they were children.

³² Tombs D, G, I, K.

³³ Tombs G, I, K, M-M'.

³⁴ Tombs I, K.

³⁵ Tombs G, AA.

³⁶ Tombs G, I, K, M-M'.

³⁷ Tomb M-M'.

The earliest proto-Corinthian ceramics found in Italy belong to the Hellenic burials at Cumae. These yielded among other forms a large number of wide-bodied, almost spherical lecythi with a small lip. The priority of this type of lecythus is admitted. At Syracuse it occurs in a few graves only and those the oldest. On the other hand, just as at Cumae, it was found in considerable abundance in the sanctuary-deposits of the Argive Heraeum, which go back well into the eighth century³⁸. Miss H. L. Lorimer makes mention of two examples of this lecythus found in Latium and Etruria. One is now in the Museo Comunale at Corneto; the other was found on the Esquiline and is now in the Museo dei Conservatori at Rome³⁹. A third should be added to this number — a spherical lecythus found in a hut-foundation at Conca, the ancient Satricum⁴⁰. These are the only examples of this type known from the part of Italy under consideration in this study. Their rarity proves that they ceased to be in vogue before this new stream of Greek commerce began to flow freely in central Italy.

The occurrence of the spherical lecythus as indicated above shows that a date not far from 700 B. C. — probably earlier if anything rather than later — should be assigned to its appearance in Latium and Etruria.

Succeeding the earliest type there arose a heart-shaped

³⁸ See *M. A.* XXII-1, Col. 311 and 313f; also contents of tomb XXII, Col. 235, and Fig. 79 where seven of these lecythi are illustrated, called by Gabrici globular "aryballoi".

Cf. H. L. Lorimer, *Journal of Hell. Studies* 1912, p. 326. To Miss Lorimer I owe much of the information here used regarding proto-Corinthian ware. Also cf. a more recent article in *A. M.* Vol. 43 (1918), pp. 1f, pp. 21-49.

³⁹ Cf. *Journal of Hell. Studies* 1912, p. 327, note 11.

⁴⁰ Cf. *M. A.* XV, Col. 485.

(*cuoriforme*) lecythus, which from the shoulder downward is exactly the shape of the scyphus which appears at about the same time.

Later than the heart-shaped lecythus is the ovoid form which occurred in the two oak-coffin graves in the Forum.

The problem that confronts us here is to set an approximate date to the use of ovoid lecythi in Latium, and particularly such as are decorated with bands of running animals.

The excavations at Gela and Megara Hyblaea can aid us in this attempt. The imported wares at these two sites run a parallel course. The foreign fabrics here are almost entirely Corinthian. "Only a very few fine lekythoi", says Miss Lorimer, "carry on the proto-Corinthian series". Among the lecythi of the latter class (yielded by an early tomb at Gela) was one of form identical to those of the Forum, and it, too, was decorated with bands of running animals ⁴¹.

Since Corinthian ware promptly superseded proto-Corinthian at these two Sicilian sites, it would seem that the ovoid lecythus with decoration as above described should not fall later than the year 650 B. C., and possibly even a decade or two earlier. There is nothing improbable in setting the middle of the seventh century as the time of its appearance at Rome.

A comparison of the contents of the late Forum tombs with the deposition of one of the oldest *camera* tombs at Corneto — the so-called "Bokchoris grave" — tends to corroborate the above. The latter contained a fayence vase bearing the name of the Egyptian king Bokenranf (=Bokchoris) who reigned from 734 to 728 B. C. ⁴². Now

⁴¹ Cf. *M. A.* XVII, Fig. 146.

⁴² For the discovery of this tomb cf. *N. S.* 1896 pp. 15f. Also cf. Montelius, *Civ.* II, 2, Pl. 295. *M. A.* VIII, Tav. II, gives a reproduction of the fayence vase in color.

of course it is impossible to say just how much time elapsed between the reign of this king and the deposition of the vase in the Cornetan tomb, but according to Karo, who has made a special study of the matter, "the tomb should not be dated too late in the 7th. century"⁴³. It, too, just as two of the Forum graves, contained an amphora of the Nicosthenes type with incised double-spirals and Phoenician palmettes. Since, however, it was poor in proto-Corinthian forms, and contained no ware of as late origin as the ovoid lecythi, it would seem that this tomb might be older than the Forum graves by a few decades.

"Nicosthenes" amphorae were also among the contents of tomb LXI at Narce and were there associated with scyphi (one decorated with single rays and bands) and other ware of the type found at Cumae which Gabrici denominates "Chalcidian". This interment can hardly be later than 650 B. C.⁴⁴.

A similar amphora of silver was among the furniture of the Regolini-Galassi tomb⁴⁵.

The oak-coffin burials have been treated in some detail in order that a transition burial may be illustrated, that is, tomb II⁴⁶, which in some respects is the most important with which we have to deal in this necropolis. This inhumation tomb cannot be classed with the primitive sepulchers of the period when the hut urn was in use nor with the late burials just described. It must be excluded from the first category because of the large amount of amber and the paste beads it contained. It cannot be included in the second because of its vases, all

⁴³ Cf. A.M. Vol. 45 (1920) *Orient und Hellas in archaischer Zeit*, p. 110.

⁴⁴ Montelius, *Civ.* II, 2, Pl. 326.

⁴⁵ Montelius, *Civ.* II, 2, Pl. 339, Fig. 9.

⁴⁶ N.S. 1911, p. 179.

of which were of the primitive type, and because of a single fibula of the simple bow variety. Fibulae of this type had gone out of vogue when the six oaken coffins were interred in the Sepulcretum. Among all the numerous fibulae yielded by the latter burials I have not been able to find one sure example of the variety *ad arco semplice*. The type *a navicella* predominates, with others *a mignatta* with an enlarged arc and with long sheath.

In view of the above facts, and because amber occurs in only the minutest quantities and glass and paste beads not at all in the primitive cremation burials, we are justified in inferring that amber became more common and vitreous beads were first imported into Latium in the period between the virtual abandonment of the rite of cremation and the middle of the seventh century.

The fact that a number of the Forum burials intersected is of capital importance in an attempt to determine their relative chronology. Data of this kind are of unquestionable dependibility.

In the first place it should be stated that no cremation tomb was found under circumstances indicating that it was superposed upon any earlier burial.

The same is true of the inhumation tombs which we regarded as contemporary with the cremation ones, excepting only B, which cuts into cremation tomb X.

Further evidence that tomb II, which has been referred to as in a sense transitional, is later than the primitive series, is furnished by the fact that it intersects inhumation grave HH, which contained only pottery of the type found with hut urns and contemporary burials.

No less than half of the oak-coffin burials (G, I, M) truncated earlier graves. G cuts into cremation tombs Q (with a hut urn) and R. I truncated an inhumation burial (J) which was without furniture. M cut into cremation tomb N.

A certain inhumation tomb (L) ⁴⁷, which yielded only two scyphi (one of which has decoration of the same order as that of the Nicosthenes amphorae and a certain cup of tomb G), also intersected cremation tomb N.

Summarizing the information derived from the Forum burials the following conclusions are reached.

1. — In the Forum Sepulcretum cremation tombs (including hut urns) are found with material for the most part identical to that of San Sebastiano, the Villa Cavalletti, the Vigna Giusti, Campo Fattore, and the cremation burials of Velletri and the Esquiline.

2. — No cremation burials are here found later than the primitive period.

3. — As on the Esquiline and in some localities of the Alban Hills, inhumation and cremation burials were intermingled.

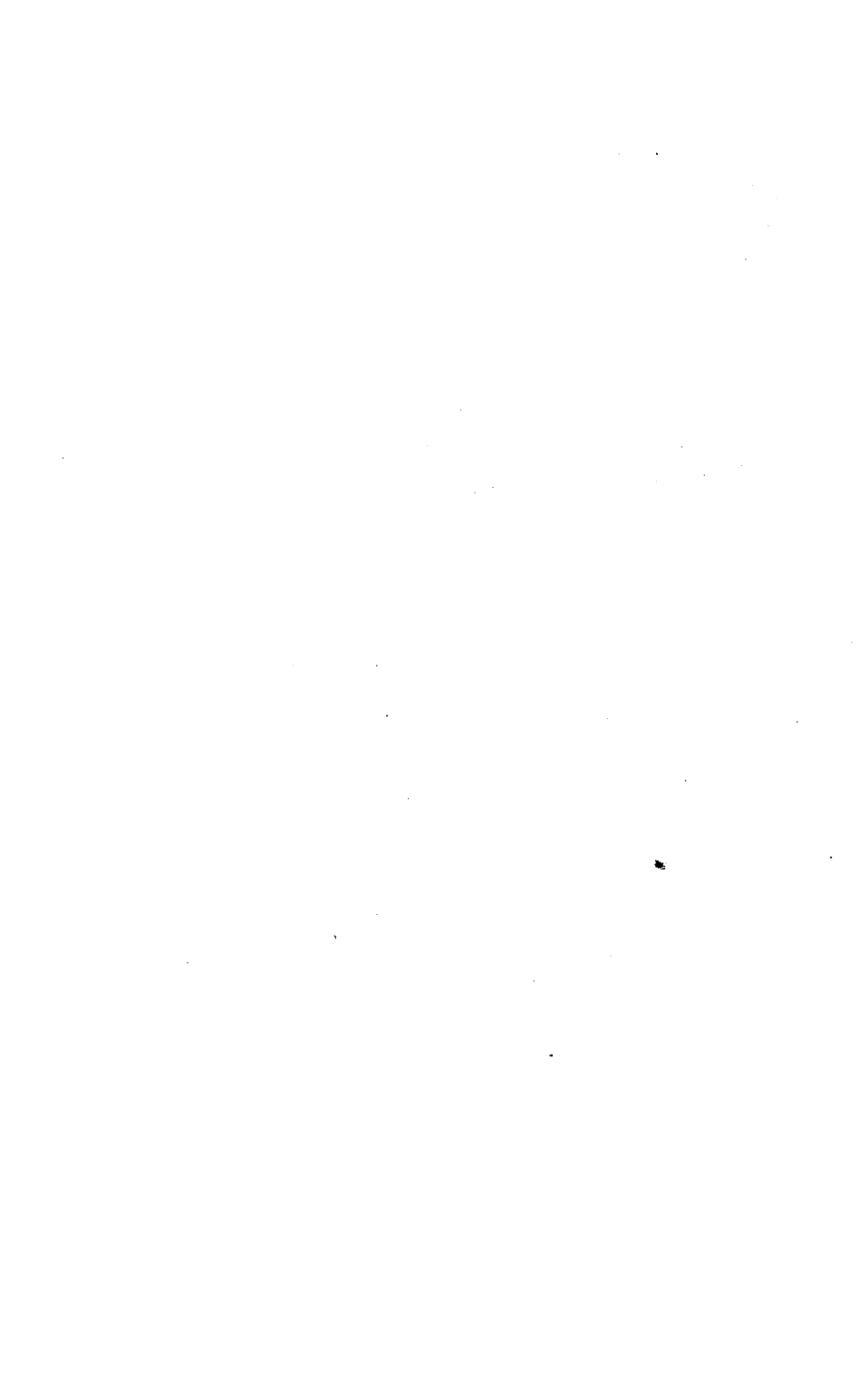
4. — As on the Esquiline, certain inhumation burials have the same material as the cremation burials.

5. — A group of late inhumation burials can be dated approximately in the middle of the seventh century.

6. — Between the primitive period and the middle of the seventh century is interposed a period of uncertain duration during which paste beads were for the first time imported into Latium.

7. — Two Latian hut urns contained the only gold objects found in primitive burials. The hut urns of the Forum and certain Alban hut urns are richer in bronze and amber than the average cremation burial. Hut urns are also more highly decorated in many cases than other types of ossuary. One was painted with a brush and in this respect is unlike all the other ceramics of the period in Latium.

⁴⁷ *N.S.* 1905, p. 146.



III.— HUT URN BURIALS OF VETULONIA

REGULAR excavations were first undertaken in the ancient burial grounds of Vetulonia in the year 1884 and were continued with many interruptions down to the outbreak of the war. The results of the first seven years of this work, which are the most important for our purpose, have been summarized by Isidoro Falchi in his volume entitled *Vetulonia e la sua Necropoli Antichissima*, Florence 1891. Since that date nothing of significance in the way of generalization and analysis has been accomplished except an article written by Dr. Pinza and published in the *Bullettino di Paletnologia* for the year 1901, in which he reverses almost completely certain general deductions appearing in an earlier article written by himself¹. The space covered by tombs is so extensive, the material brought to light so multifarious, the types of burial so many, the relations between them so complicated, that a satisfactory presentation of the facts and theories in respect to the origin and growth of this necropolis would fill a large volume. It is a work urgently required, and above all there is need of a good map on a large scale of the region covered by the tombs with their relative po-

¹ Since writing the above an article by Geo. Karo (*A. M.* Vol. 45 (1920) "Orient und Hellas in archaischer Zeit") has appeared in which a few pages are devoted to the burials at Vetulonia. The article is an important contribution to the study of the chronology of the early period. For a still more recent and complete summary of the finds see Von Duhn I, pp. 208 ff.

sitions indicated. Fortunately our interest here centers upon hut urns and contemporary burials, and to this more restricted field our observations will principally be confined. Having described, too, in their main features the early Iron Age burials of Latium, the chief stress in this and the following chapters will be laid upon the distinctions between them and the early Iron Age burials of Etruria. Through a comparison of the burials of the two regions there is hope of arriving at a conception of the essential differences between the two cultures and their chronological relationship in so far as these can be ascertained from the material derived from tombs.

Hut urns have been discovered in four different locations in the ancient necropolis of Vetulonia: on Poggio alla Guardia, Poggio alle Birbe, the Belvedere, and the Costa delle Dupiane. Of these sites the last two are of slight importance, since little can be learned from them which is not more easily learned from a careful examination of the far larger necropolis of Poggio alla Guardia.

After describing in a few words the relative position and general features of these four burial areas, separate treatment will be given to Poggio alla Guardia and Poggio alle Birbe. Whatever is said in reference to the Belvedere and the Costa delle Dupiane will be incidental to the description of the main sites².

Poggio alla Guardia is an extensive hill rising immediately at the east of the modern village of Vetulonia, which occupies a part of the position formerly held by the Etruscan *Vatluna*. During the course of the Age of Iron Poggio alla Guardia was converted into a cemetery. All of the hill except the very summit and some natural

For maps of this region see Falchi, *Tav. I*; *N. S.* 1885 *Tav. XII* and 1898, p. 142.

trenches formed by the rains has given evidence of having been at one time covered with tombs. It is gratuitous, perhaps, to attempt to estimate their number. Considerable areas have been regularly excavated. In other places the burials have been disturbed by treasure seekers, by agricultural operations, and above all by the roots of plants, to such an extent that the excavations which were started were quickly abandoned as fruitless. It is certain, however, that there was once here one of the most extensive burial grounds in all Italy.

The sepulchers of Poggio alla Guardia begin at a distance of only a few hundred meters from the walls of Vetulonia. This hill is precisely the location we should expect to be chosen for a burial place by the earliest people to settle on the site of the modern village. It has a fine exposure and is very easy of access from the latter point. A road of immemorial age connects the two. It is here in fact, on the western slope of Poggio alla Guardia — on the side nearest the village — that tombs are found bearing in general the most archaic stamp. As the summit of the hill is passed, the tombs toward the east, north-east and south-east give evidence of posteriority. On the whole, however, it should be made clear that, taking the *pozzo* tombs as a class, immense as is their number and great as is the area which they cover they nevertheless represent to us a civilization undergoing but slight material advancement. Except for a division into earlier and later tombs, it is only when these *pozzetti* are compared with terramara burials on the one hand and the latest trench-tombs on the other that they fall into a sure chronological perspective. An attempt to recognize shorter stages in the development of the cremation burials would be experimental and lead to unverifiable though perhaps not valueless results.

Poggio alle Birbe is a prolongation of Poggio alla Guardia, rising at a distance of about five hundred meters to the east of the latter. Its *pozzo* tombs appear to belong to the same development as those on the adjoining slope of Poggio alla Guardia. The number known to us is small. Thirty-four tombs only were excavated here in 1889, and Falchi was of the opinion that as many more were left unexplored³. Besides these there were other much later sepulchers already pillaged and in ruin.

The locality known as the Belvedere is also in a sense a prolongation of Poggio alla Guardia, lying on its north-eastern flank and being divided from it by the Via dei Sepolcri. The early burials of the Belvedere, too, are a continuation of the system begun nearer the primitive settlement. Although they are situated at some distance from the latter there is nothing to indicate that they are of a later date than the ordinary burials nearer the center of habitation.

To the west of Vetulonia, on the side of the village opposite Poggio alla Guardia, there also lies an extensive ancient burial ground. It covers the eminence called Colle Baroncio and reaches down over the Costa delle Dupiane in the direction of the town.

The burials on the Colle Baroncio are little known owing to the fact that the excavations were carried out on private account. Of seven hundred tombs brought to light up to the year 1891 none contained a hut urn⁴, nor has any record been found of the discovery of such ossuaries here since that date. On the Costa delle Dupiane, however, between the Colle Baroncio and the town,

³ Falchi, p. 59.

⁴ Falchi, p. 65.

one hut urn interment was discovered which yielded a lance with its point and a razor of bronze ⁵.

The outstanding feature of the burial areas having Vetulonia for a center is the small extent to which the rite of inhumation was practiced. The people that dwelt in this region during the Iron Age was one that preeminently followed the custom of burning the bodies of the dead. We have seen that there were cremation areas in Latium and there are others in Etruria, but nowhere do they exist on so large a scale unmingled with inhumation burials as at Vetulonia. Here, with the possible exception of the Colle Baroncio, about which little is known, no groups of trench tombs worthy the name exist at all. Poggio alla Guardia has yet to yield a single burial of this type, although some strange and apparently foreign modes of interment, which will be described, occur among the *pozzo* tombs.

1. — POGGIO ALLA GUARDIA.

The *pozzetti* of Poggio alla Guardia are found normally separated one from another by an appreciable interval of space. In some places, however, they were dug so closely together that they almost touched. At one point they were discovered in two strata and placed in such a manner that the slab of stone serving as the cover for the lower urn formed a base for the upper. With the exception of a spot very near the summit of the hill the crowding together and superimposition of ossuaries was particularly noted on the western slope, i.e. on the side nearest the ancient town, where the burials on the whole show fewer and less variety of accessory objects than in other

⁵ Falchi, p. 62. The urn has not been identified.

localities⁶. Here, too, many of the urns appeared to have been buried at so slight a depth that their tops were at the former ground level⁷.

On the eastern slope of the hill, where less crowding occurred, the excavators came upon an important variation in the manner of the burials. Three circles formed of rough stones were here discovered surrounding associated *pozzi* placed in more or less regular rows. These circles were laid out by compass and measured from nine and one-half to eleven meters in diameter. Only one contained tombs in a satisfactory state of preservation. It yielded sixteen ossuaries, no less than nine of which were hut urns⁸.

In addition to the ordinary well tombs either dissociated, as commonly, or in groups, there is another type of burial on Poggio alla Guardia which contrasts so greatly with the well-tombs both here and in Latium that it would seem to have been introduced by an alien race. Tombs of this type were named "foreign repositories" (*repostigli stranieri*) by Falchi, because the objects found in them were imported, with scarcely any intermixture of native products. The rite followed was almost certainly cremation. Those who practiced this mode of burial dug, ordinarily, a rectangular hole not much larger than a *pozzo*, within which they placed the personal ornaments of the defunct, sometimes on the bare earth but more often upon a small stone slab. Together with the furniture is commonly found a black, unctuous earth

⁶ See N. S. 1887, p. 519 for the excavations near the top of Poggio alla Guardia. For the western slope see N. S. 1898, pp. 100-103. Superimposed tombs were also found on the Colle Baroncio, N. S. 1885, p. 399.

⁷ N. S. 1887, p. 520.

⁸ N. S. 1887, pp. 514f.

which may be the remains either of the funeral pyre or of a wooden protection placed under and possibly around the deposit. In a few cases the holes assumed the character of cylindrical *pozzetti*. Rarely were they shielded in any way from the weight resting on them from above. In fact it appears that after the deposition had been made, the hole was filled with stones in such a manner that the contents must inevitably be injured. Receptacles of bronze plate, which have the appearance of ossuaries, not infrequently form part of the funeral furniture, but they contain no ashes. The most striking feature of these burials has been reserved for final mention. In the hole, together with the objects of personal adornment of the deceased, were his teeth. No other part of the corpse is found preserved. The most satisfactory explanation of this fact so far offered is that of Pinza, who considers that these tombs originally received the ashes of the burned bodies and that these ashes, owing to the lack of adequate protection, have been consumed in the course of time by the chemical action of the earth⁹.

There is no reason to doubt that the "foreign repositories" described above are contemporary with many of the *pozzo* tombs. The proof that the two modes overlap chronologically is the fact that the former are found intermingled with the ordinary burials in the heart of the necropolis, sometimes in spots where the *pozzo* tombs are planted in close proximity to one another, without any evidence ever having come to light that the "foreign repositories" disturbed an earlier interment. And so at a period when the bulk, at least, of the native population of Vetulonia was still practicing cremation according to the fashion common to the Italic race in

⁹ B.P. 1901, p. 190.

this and other parts of the peninsula, another people which dwelt with them, though employing the same rite, followed a divergent fashion. Instead of using cinerary urns, the ashes were either exposed without adequate protection to the earth — the more rational explanation — or else the teeth of the dead, taken from the pyre or the corpse, were alone considered worthy of preservation. And, in the second place, instead of making free use of native products for funeral equipment, the diggers of the "foreign repositories" placed almost exclusively articles of importation in the tombs ¹⁰.

The two differences noted above — one in burial method and the other in the contents of the tombs — are too radical to be explained as due to mere class distinction among a homogeneous people. It seems almost certain that the foreign repositories belong to an alien race. It does not seem possible that they merely represent a wealthier class among the Italic population. The wealthier part of the native population, it would appear, made use of certain refinements not found in the poorer burials without, however, departing in any sense from the burial customs of the masses. A stone cover, for instance, with a large leaf carved upon it, was found protecting an ordinary well tomb containing fibulae *a sanguisuga* ¹¹. Other covers protecting important depositions were found cut in imitation of oval shields ¹². Cinerary urns of bronze sometimes take the place of the ordinary

¹⁰ Falchi refers to the contents of foreign repositories (discovered up to the year 1891) as consisting exclusively of imported articles. Since that date some *buche* have been found containing a few native articles. See Falchi, pp. 214-15, and *N. S.* 1898, pp. 106-7, 110.

¹¹ *N. S.* 1885, p. 117-tomb 1.

¹² Several are preserved in the Museum of Archaeology at Florence. See Milani, *M. T.*, pp. 24-25.

impasto urn, and in such cases the accessory objects are in keeping with the comparative sumptuosity of the ossuary.

According to the classification made by Falchi in his work on the necropolis of Vetulonia there are two other types of burial on Poggio alla Guardia besides those already considered. Both of these types show strong affinities with the so-called foreign repositories, and both show as great a contrast to the ordinary well tombs. The first of these types differs in no definable respect, either in construction or in contents, from the foreign repositories, except that the deposition is found surrounded by an interrupted circle of rough stones. The second differs in a number of more or less important particulars which are noted in the next paragraph.

In the first place, although burials of the latter type (the fourth and last to be considered on Poggio alla Guardia) are delimited by circles as in the case of the former type and of some of the *pozzo* tombs, yet there is a difference in the kind of stone used and in the way in which it is set. Slabs of equal size of white *sassovivo* transported from a considerable distance are employed instead of unshaped fragments of rocks picked up on the hill itself. These slabs, too, instead of being placed at intervals, are contiguous. In the second place, the deposition is sometimes found distributed in two, three, or even four central holes (*buche*). The circles vary greatly in size, some being as small as six meters in diameter, others as large as thirty-four. A special feature of some of these circle graves is the presence of a precisely fashioned cone of trachite, which may originally have served as a marker for the interment. The general character of the funeral equipment in the tombs surrounded by continuous circles, in those surrounded by interrupted circles, and in

the foreign repositories is the same. The period covered by them all probably embraced little more than two or three generations. Greater *profusion* of objects, however, is apparent in the holes surrounded by circles ¹³. Here, too, ceramics are in greater abundance, while in the foreign repositories they are extremely rare. In some of the later circle tombs, the *tomba del Duce* for example, proto-Corinthian ware makes its appearance for the first time. In the circle tombs, as in the foreign repositories, it is the rule (not without exceptions) to find only the teeth of the corpse, lying in the midst of the most precious treasures.

The determination of the location of each of the tombs *a circolo* in respect to the Italic well tombs of Poggio alla Guardia might prove of great aid in an attempt to fix the chronological development of the necropolis. Precision in this matter, however, is unattainable owing to the lack of an adequate map showing the position of all such circles discovered both in the older and the more recent excavations. We have seen that the foreign repositories are found scattered among the *pozzo* tombs in such a way that the two methods of burial must needs be regarded as in part, at least, contemporary. The same was not true of circle tombs containing imported furniture (i. e. non-Italic tombs) brought to light up to the year 1891. Falchi leaves no doubt that such burials were apart from the area which yielded the well tombs. Of the circles of rough stones he says "they are separated from, but close to, the sepulcretum and are situated upon the declivity of the hill without other burials about them" ¹⁴. Of the continuous circles of white slabs only four were

¹³ Cf. the description of the Circolo dei Monili (Falchi, p. 96 and Pl. VII) for profusion of objects. Cf. also N. S. 1892, pp. 384-85.

¹⁴ p. 88.

known on Poggio alla Guardia proper when Falchi published "*Vetulonia e la sua necropoli antichissima*". A sketch map on page thirty-one of the above work shows the position of these circles. They are all four on the flanks of the hill and, except the *Circolo di Bes*¹⁵, which is separated from the necropolis by a road, all are close to, but apart from, the ordinary tombs. In two published descriptions of these burials Falchi makes it perfectly clear that the circle tombs all lie on the outskirts of the necropolis of Poggio alla Guardia¹⁶.

Since 1891 other circle burials have been brought to light on Poggio alla Guardia, some on the eastern slope, others on the north-western slope of the hill. The reports, however, sometimes fail to specify the nature of these circles, i.e. whether they are formed of rough stones or the white *sassovivo*. Pinza, who holds the theory that the well tombs, foreign repositories, and both types of circle tombs are all of the same period, attempts to prove that subsequent to 1891 circle tombs were brought to light in the midst of ordinary *pozzetti*. The evidence upon which he relies is far from convincing. It is based on the reports published in the *Notizie degli Scavi* and so may be examined with little trouble¹⁷.

¹⁵ Karo has shown that this tomb was one of the earliest of circle-tombs. See *A. M.* Vol. 45, pp. 120f.

¹⁶ *Circolo dei Monili*, p. 97; *Circolo Gemelli*, p. 103; *Circolo di Bes*, p. 104 of Falchi. In the same order pp. 386, 7, 8, of *N. S.* 1892.

¹⁷ The evidence for the eastern slope of Poggio alla Guardia is cited by Pinza in foot-note 1 to p. 186 of *B. P.* 1901. The reference to *N. S.* 1898 p. 105, alone appears to be in point. The language of Falchi's report is too summary to be of any real assistance in an attempt to fix the relative positions of the circle tombs to which reference is made. A circle tomb is spoken of as in direct contact with a *buca*, i.e. a foreign repository, not a *pozzo* tomb, and the position of

A searching investigation of the evidence fails to furnish proof of a single circle burial so surrounded by well tombs that it would appear for that reason to have been contemporary with the latter. This is true not only of those circle burials discovered previous to the publication of Pinza's article in 1901, but of those since discovered¹⁸.

The choicest part of Poggio alla Guardia, especially the more nearly level spaces and locations easy of access, is completely covered by the *pozzo* tombs. In the less

this *buca* in respect to the *pozzo* tombs in the vicinity is not indicated. Another circle tomb is there mentioned in contact with the former.

Note 2 to p. 186 of *B. P.* 1901 refers to a supposed circle tomb on the Belvedere described on p. 159 of *N. S.* 1898. It is questionable whether it is a true circle tomb at all since the stones were arranged *a muro* in connection with a *tumulus*. At any rate, inasmuch as it was situated at the very edge of the *via del Piano* it appears to have been on the border of the other tombs of the Belvedere.

Nine circle tombs are mentioned in *N. S.* 1898, pp. 101-104, as discovered on the north-western slope of Poggio alla Guardia. One of these (the first, p. 101) was of white *sassovivo*. It touched the *pozzetti*. Falchi says that at the point where the circle grazed the nearest well tomb the stones were smaller and pointed. In a summary of the position of the burials the following statement is made: "On the level space (*ata*) on the S. E. slope, all burials are *pozzetti* close to one another; on the N. W. slope on the *via del Piano* all are circles of stone with a few holes without a circle and a few sepulchers of later date in the interstices" (p. 103).

Two circles of rough stones with central holes are referred to on p. 91 of *N. S.* 1898. They were situated on the western slope of Poggio alla Guardia somewhat toward the north. *Pozzetti* were excavated near by, but concerning their position relative to the circles we are left in the dark. The circle of rough stones mentioned on p. 92 appears to have been situated near the *via del Piano*. The statement of the relative positions of the circle and well tombs at the bottom of p. 103, appears to refer to the excavations of 1896 as well as 1897.

¹⁸ See *N. S.* 1908, pp. 419f; 1913, pp. 425f.

avored spots on the steep sides the circle tombs were constructed. But these latter are few compared to the large number brought to light in localities more distant from the ancient city. The great majority of circle tombs, particularly those formed of white *sassovivo*, were located on the prolongations of Poggio alla Guardia toward the east and on the heights beyond where they descend far into the plain¹⁹. Poggio al Bello, to the south of Poggio alla Guardia, also yielded a number of circle tombs, including the very rich and famous *tomba del Duce*.

None of the circle tombs of Poggio alla Guardia in contact with the primitive necropolis consisted of more than one central hole²⁰. At more remote points, however, it was not unusual to find a circle surrounding several various groups of funeral furniture. The circle of Mut, for example, inclosed three holes; of the circles of the Pelliccie one contained four holes and the other three. The exceptional *tomba del Duce* consisted of no less than five.

In the description of circle tombs formed of white *sassovivo* on Poggio alla Guardia two are specifically mentioned as yielding the teeth only of the defunct²¹. Small fragments of burned bones were noted in other burials of this type. Furthermore two circle tombs mentioned by Falchi — one the *tomba del Duce* on Poggio al Bello, the other situated in the plain — contained actual ossuaries in which the ashes of the deceased had been collected²². From these facts it is a safe inference that the people

¹⁹ Cf. map N.S. 1898, p. 142.

²⁰ See reference in note 16; also N.S. 1892, p. 384.

²¹ N.S. 1892, pp. 386, 388. In a circle of rough stones the crowns of teeth were found arranged in rows. N.S. 1898, p. 93.

²² Falchi p. 96. Cf. also the tombs of Val di Campo (N.S. 1892, p. 404) and the Circolo dei Lebeti (N.S. 1913, p. 432).

who made such large use of imported articles practiced cremation, as did the people of the *pozzo* tombs. In the foreign repositories and in the circle tombs generally, the ashes may have been placed within wooden shelters or receptacles of the same material. This would account not only for the disappearance in most cases of all except the teeth, but also for the presence of the black woody earth so often observed²³. The advantage of a more durable ossuary might well have been learned from the *pozzo* diggers. It is also important to note that in some of the more distant circle tombs skeletons were exhumed. In some other cases, where human teeth were found showing no marks of the funeral fire, it is quite possible inhumation took place, although, if this were so, it is strange that no remains at all were left of the skeleton. The holes of most circle tombs were of sufficient size to allow the laying out of a body. The evidence for both rites, at any rate, is explicit. The question of importance is to determine whether incineration or inhumation was first employed. One can hardly hesitate to declare in favour of the former alternative. The circle tombs are clearly a development of the foreign repositories, and the holes of the latter burials are too small to permit inhumation. Ashes too will naturally disappear much more readily than the bones of the skeleton. In view of the fact that fragments of burned bones were observed in some tombs it does not seem probable, therefore, that inhumation should have occurred in those holes where no traces at all of the body were left.

There is a notable increase in sumptuousity of furniture as one passes from the foreign repositories to the white stone circle tombs. This is not so apparent in

²³ N.S. 1898, pp. 103, 104, 112.

burials of the latter class in the vicinity of the *pozzetti* on Poggio alla Guardia as at more distant points. There, together with an abundance of the same objects which occur in the foreign repositories, we find new material unknown to the earlier type of burial ²⁴.

Pinza has expressed the opinion that the presence or absence of a stone circle in connection with holes containing imported articles is of no chronological value taken by itself ²⁵. The circles, he argues, might well have disappeared in the course of time owing to atmospheric agencies and agricultural activities. The possibility of their complete disappearance in some cases must be granted. In other cases, too, the remains of the circles may have been so slight that they escaped the attention of the excavators ²⁶. Nevertheless, while the above considerations should be applied by way of caution in particular instances, the general classification of tombs, as well as the evidence for their chronological sequence, remains unaffected. The foreign repositories of Poggio alla Guardia never possessed stone circles, and the topographical reasons why they should be regarded as contemporary to well tombs on that hill, and prior to the great majority, at least, of circle tombs have been set forth. The foreign repositories are too close neighbors to the *pozzetti* to permit of space for circles. Furthermore, the fact that some circles could completely disappear does not account for their total absence among the well tombs and their large number in outlying areas.

The gradual development of the burials surrounded

²⁴ *N. S.* 1892, p. 384; Falchi p. 216.

²⁵ *B. P.* 1901, p. 185.

²⁶ Falchi, however, seems to be of the opinion that some indication of the circles must inevitably be left if they once existed. See *N. S.* 1900, p. 470.

by circles of white stone slabs from the more primitive repositories is indicated, therefore, not only by the relative position of the two types on Poggio alla Guardia itself, but also by the increase in the number of central holes, the general sameness but greater wealth of the depositions, and the change, finally, in burial rite at points more distant from the aforesaid hill. In fact, it would seem that the major development of circle tombs took place subsequent to the main development of the necropolis of Poggio alla Guardia. Except for the far eastern and north-eastern side, and a spot here and there on the outskirts of the area covered by the well tombs, the hill was already thickly covered with burials before the use of circles came into vogue among the people who originally dug merely a hole in which to place the relics and treasures of the dead. The native population continued to dig *pozzetti* in less convenient localities, such as the more distant parts of Poggio alla Guardia, Poggio alle Birbe, and the Colle Baroncio, *pari passu* with the extension of the circle-tombs. Some evidence is afforded of the later date of the ordinary burials in the above localities by the material of these burials themselves. After having examined the construction of the well tombs and their furniture in general we will pass, toward the end of the section, to the question of their chronological sequence as indicated by their contents.

A cursory examination of the *pozzo* tombs of Poggio alla Guardia makes apparent a striking distinction, in respect to burial methods, to the *pozzo* tombs of Latium. At Vetulonia much less care was taken to protect the ossuary and its contents than at Rome and in the Alban Hills. At the latter sites *dolia* were usually employed; at Vetulonia never. Attention has been called, too, to the pits carefully floored and walled with small pieces

of stone, such as occurred near Velletri and in the Vigna Giusti. Nicely constructed *pozzi* of this kind are rare at Vetulonia: On Poggio alla Guardia the ossuary was either buried in a hole in the ground without any protection whatever or it was placed in a cylindrical pit protected only at the top by a heavy slab of stone. Rare are the examples of *pozzetti* having stone slabs at the sides. Even in the case of the well tombs surrounded by circles, the furniture of which shows advancement over the average burials, a single stone slab placed across the mouth of the pit was all that shielded the contents.

Another important distinction between the burials of Vetulonia and those of Latium concerns the shapes of the ossuaries. We have seen that in the latter region various types of ossuaries were in use, and that no one form was greatly preferred to another. In the necropolis of Vetulonia, on the contrary, the so-called Villanova urn is in great preponderance. The Villanova type of urn is biconical in form, i.e. it consists of two truncated cones with bases joined, and it is ordinarily covered by an inverted flat bowl with one handle (*ciotola*). Although this is the characteristic ossuary of the Iron Age cemeteries throughout Etruria and the Emilia, and even occurs in the south of the peninsula, its absence in the exclusively cremation areas of Latium is absolute. It should occasion no surprise if it were occasionally found in Latium associated with later burials or more advanced material, but even here no trustworthy evidence is at hand of the excavation of ossuaries of the true Villanova type, although they occur in large numbers on the borders of Latium at Cervetri and Veii.

The extensive distribution of the Villanova urn on the north of the Tiber and its complete absence in Latium has always been a crux to archaeologists. The difficulty

is not lessened by the presence of hut urns in both regions and by the knowledge that these two types of ossuary were employed contemporaneously in Etruria. The most natural explanation of this situation seems to be that the cremation culture of Latium is older than that of Etruria. It seems to have reached its flower before the latter was sufficiently advanced to exert any influence upon it. The rite of inhumation had virtually supplanted the earlier rite in Latium before the Villanova urn could be introduced south of the Tiber. The furniture of the burials supports this theory, because it is with the inhumation rather than the cremation tombs of Latium that the funeral equipment of tombs containing Villanova ossuaries is in closer correspondence.

- The appearance of hut urns on both sides of the Tiber is capable of either of two explanations. In the first place they, as well as certain other forms found in both regions, may have been the result of direct influence of the older civilization of Latium. Or, in the second place, they may be survivals of a more primitive culture of which that of Latium was only a part — a culture which occupied Etruria as well as Latium before the arrival of the people bringing with them the Villanova ossuary.

In any event, it seems impossible to suppose that knowledge of the hut urn passed from Etruria into Latium. If this were the case why was the biconical ossuary not also introduced? To assert the acceptance by the cremation folk of Latium of a form used in only a few places in Etruria and there only to a small extent, and the utter rejection of a form which is the chief characteristic of an entire age and civilization, is to run counter to the dictates of common sense.

In Etruria hut urns are always found mingled without distinction among the Villanova ossuaries, just as in La-

tium they are found associated with other types. Their furniture is chronologically identical with that of the neighboring burials. At Vetulonia hut urns and Villanova ossuaries are found together in the same groups surrounded by stone circles²⁷. Furthermore, in one instance a biconical urn of rough technique was directly superposed upon a hut urn in such a manner that the slab between them formed the protecting top of the lower and the base for the upper burial²⁸. In view of these facts the contemporaneity of the two types of ossuary seems certain.

The use of the Villanova urn must have extended over a long period at Vetulonia since it is found everywhere on Poggio alla Guardia, on the Belvedere, the Coste delle Dupiane, Poggio alle Birbe, and the Colle Baroncio. A few of the latest interments employing this type of ossuary contain articles of very fair *bucchero*. Two also yielded statuettes of warriors in bronze. The hut urn, on the other hand, though giving evidence of having been in use as early as the Villanova urn, perhaps did not have quite so long a life. One hut urn only yielded a vase of indigenous *bucchero*. On the Colle Baroncio, where hut urns are completely lacking, some of the material associated with biconical ossuaries is decidedly late²⁹.

Poggio alla Guardia has been more prolific in hut urns than any other site in Italy unless it be the Alban Hills. Many of this kind of ossuary have been found in the latter region of which there exists no record³⁰, while at Vetulonia they were frequently in such a poor state of preser-

²⁷ Falchi pp. 76f. and p. 50.

²⁸ Falchi p. 77. *N.S.* 1887, p. 514-tomb 1.

²⁹ Falchi pp. 65f.

³⁰ De Rossi refers to the discovery of some forty-five hut urns previous to the year 1879. "*Piante Iconografiche e Prospettiche di Roma*", p. 3 (Rome 1879).

vation that neither they nor their contents could be saved. Hut urns of Poggio alla Guardia are frequently referred so as reduced to a *poltiglia*, i.e. a pulpy mass. In many cases only a few fragments were recovered. At one place in the excavations an area was intersected over which was strewn a multitude of sherds consisting in great part of pieces of hut urns ³¹. I have found records of forty-seven individual hut urns at Vetulonia of which forty-one were excavated on Poggio alla Guardia itself, three on the Belvedere, two on Poggio alle Birbe, and one on the Coste delle Dupiane.

The well tombs of Vetulonia not only differ from those of Latium in being, as a rule, more carelessly constructed, in lacking *dolia*, and in yielding biconical ossuaries, but a wide divergence also exists in the character of the funeral furniture. The general poverty of most of the tombs was recognized as soon as excavations were begun and later and fuller knowledge of the necropolis did not alter the original impression. On almost all parts of Poggio alla Guardia numerous ossuaries have been disinterred which contained nothing but the ashes of the dead or, perhaps, a single spindle whorl of terracotta.

In those tombs which are, on the whole, better supplied with funeral furniture especial poverty in variety of types and number of pieces is noted in the pottery. *Pozzo* tombs of Latium yielding only one or two vases are exceptionally poor. At Vetulonia, on the other hand, that is the usual number. Whereas single *pozzetti* in Latium have yielded on occasion as many as twelve supplementary vases, and six or seven are by no means infrequent, that well tomb of Vetulonia which contains three or four pieces is indeed an exception.

³¹ N. S. 1887, p. 519.

The type of vase most often encountered on Poggio alla Guardia is the pitcher, or oenochōē. It appears in many varieties. Usually it is tall with a round or oval body. The neck, too, is usually high and sometimes bent back toward the handle. In other instances the neck is short and wide. The handle is almost always long and protruding. In a few specimens it rises above the pitcher and is surmounted by two short, cylindrical horns. The mouths of many of these pitchers are of trilobate form.

Another characteristic vase is the askos *a ciambella* — a thick, ring form with a handle similar to that of a basket and a protruding neck which at the spout sometimes assumes the shape of an animal's head. This variety of askos usually stands upon short feet.

With the mention of cups in several varieties, two-handled jars, and a very small number of kerni the list of the ceramics of the well tombs of Vetulonia is virtually complete. The types are surprisingly few. The last two mentioned above are in fact so rare that the number of types is practically reduced to three. There is no lack of variety, however, within these limits.

Among the ceramics of the well tombs of Vetulonia one looks long and in vain for similarities with Latium. There is nothing corresponding to the lamps (?) in the shape of boats, the jars and aski with reticulate relief, the receptacles on ovens, etc., of the Forum and the Alban Hills. Some of the flat cups appear to be of the same derivation as the double-handled cups of Latium, but the handles are single instead of double. The prototype of both varieties is found in the *terramare* of the Po Valley.

The ring-form aski found in the *pozzo* tombs of Vetulonia seem to be of ancient lineage. Their prototypes are evidently of the Mycenaean age. Pottier publishes a vase of this form from Cyprus, which he dates in the

first half of the second millennium B. C.³² Others were discovered in the ruins of the sixth city of Troy and in Mycenaean strata at Delphi³³. The occurrence of this peculiar type of vase is rare in Italy outside of Vetulonia. This fact, together with the occurrence of oenochae at Troy and in Cyprus of the same type as those of Vetulonia, seems to point to the existence of cultural relations of some sort, at an early date between this part of Etruria and the Aegean³⁴. When the small number of types of pottery used at Vetulonia is taken into consideration, the similarity of the askos *a ciambella* and the oenochae with trilobate spout to Eastern examples becomes the more striking.

The greater part of the pottery of Vetulonia is made by hand from the ordinary coarse dark *impasto*. But few pieces of *impasto rosso*³⁵ have come to light and, as previously noted, some of the very latest well tombs contained very fair unstamped bucchero. Vases of the latter material, however, occur only where greater richness is noted in the funeral furniture. They are almost invariably associated with fibulae of a decidedly advanced type, either in the same tomb, as on the Belvedere, or in close proximity to other tombs containing such fibulae³⁶. Italo-geometric vases are an unknown quantity at Vetulonia. Corinthian vases appear for the first time in the circle burials.

³² *Vases Antiques du Louvre*, 1 serie, Pl. 6, Fig. A47. See also A.M. 1886, I Beil. XI, p. 209, Fig. 9.

³³ See M. Mayer, *Askoi*, J. A. I. 1907, p. 231.

³⁴ Schliemann, *Ilios* (Eng. edition 1881), p. 549.

³⁵ N. S. 1885, p. 117, tomb 6 (probably a foreign repository).

³⁶ On the east of Poggio alla Guardia (N. S. 1898, p. 106), and near the summit of the same hill on the south (N. S. 1900 p. 494); and on the Belvedere (N. S. 1898, p. 161).

Very much of the pottery of Vetulonia is without incised ornamentation of any sort. Where it occurs, it appears to be in about the same stage of development as in the well tombs of Latium. It invariably follows a geometric pattern. There is no suggestion of animal forms. As in Latium, plastic art is in advance of pictorial art³⁷. The design is usually scratched in the *im-pasto* before baking. Circles produced by a stamp also occur. The impressions are then often filled in with yellow or white pigment. The use of a crude sort of brush was not unknown, since a few vases decorated with bands of red paint, and ossuaries decorated with white paint, were brought to light. Painted supplementary vases, as will be remembered, do not occur in well tombs in Latium. A painted hut urn, however, was unearthed in the Forum.

When we turn our attention from the pottery to the smaller articles composing the funeral deposits, a rather illuminating contrast is at once evident between the well tombs of Vetulonia and those of Latium. Whereas the well tombs of Rome and what we have termed the exclusively cremation areas of the Alban Hills are entirely destitute, as we have seen, of iron, glass and paste beads, usable arms, lunate razors, and fibulae *a sanguisuga*, all of these objects occur in cremation burials of the site under investigation in this chapter. The well tombs of Vetulonia, therefore, which contain these objects withdraw *pro tanto* from the well tombs and approach the inhumation burials of Latium. This fact is susceptible of either one of two explanations. Well tombs of Vetulonia yielding such furniture are either later than the great

³⁷ Cf. the human figurines in clay of Alban hut urns with the animal heads on some of the aski of Vetulonia.

mass of well tombs of Latium, or the material culture of Vetulonia was in advance of that of Latium.

Iron was evidently regarded as a semi-precious metal during the *pozzo* period at Vetulonia, since it was used for the manufacture of jewelry as well as of weapons. The finding in the same tomb of iron put to both these uses precludes the attempt to draw a chronological distinction between tombs containing only jewelry and those containing only arms made of this metal. Perhaps the richest find of iron objects in one tomb was the following : a dagger blade, a knife blade, horse-bits (partly of bronze), a lance point, a fibula, and shapeless fragments. These objects were contained in an ordinary, undecorated Villanova urn ³⁸. In other tombs rings, pendants, and bracelets of iron were discovered. Iron swords are exceedingly rare. An interesting fact in regard to this metal is its use at the same time with objects of the same class in bronze. Not only are rings and fibulae of both metals found associated, but iron and bronze lances are sometimes discovered in the same tomb, or a bronze lance and an iron hatchet (*accetta*). One tomb contained, together with other articles, an iron bracelet and a flint knife ³⁹. In proportion to the sum total of well tombs at Vetulonia the number containing iron is small.

Glass beads, too, occur in only a small proportion of the *pozzo* burials. Many of them are colored *ad occhio di civetta*, i. e. the foundation is white with spots of blue and yellow. A few clear crystal pendants lent variety to the rather monotonous succession of common objects.

Lances were found in greater number than other weapons. At times it was obvious that they had been pur-

³⁸ *N.S.* 1885, p. 415, tomb 12.

³⁹ *N.S.* 1887, p. 518, tomb XI.

posely twisted or broken before being introduced into the urn. This is interpreted as an act of symbolism by some archaeologists. They would compare the broken lance to the disintegrated body and see the spirit released from the former as it was from the latter. Perhaps, too, the man would need a spirit-weapon or weapon-spirit in the other world. The examination of the plates in Montelius, however, will indicate that rough treatment of the lance was necessary in order to accomodate it to the restricted dimensions of the ossuary ⁴⁰.

Next to the so-called spindle whorls the objects which occur in greatest abundance in the *pozzetti* of Vetulonia are lunate razors. They are always of bronze. Sometimes the handle is attached separately; sometimes the razor is cast in one piece. The blade is occasionally ornamented with impressed concentric circles.

The fibula of commonest occurrence at Vetulonia is the type with a simple arc. Fibulae *serpeggianti* are also abundant. The latter are found in numerous subtypes which depart considerably from the fewer forms familiar to us in Latium. Two important types occurring at Vetulonia are unknown to the cremation areas of Latium. One is the so-called fibula *a foglia*. The other is the fibula *a sanguisuga* or *a mignatta*. The arc of the former type consists of an elliptical plate with holes usually cut about the margin of the "leaf". Sometimes small metal rings were inserted in these holes. The fibulae *a sanguisuga* occur in a small variety with a closed arc and in a larger size with hollow arc. The arcs of fibulae were sometimes set with amber discs.

Amber is present in much greater abundance than in

⁴⁰ II, 1, Pls. 176-177. The ossuaries of course contained ashes and frequently accessory vases and other objects.

Latium and is quite widely distributed. Laminated bronze objects, too, were found in a few well tombs. It will be recollected that in the Alban necropolis this material occurred only in the shape of small discs. At Vetulonia a number of *pozzetti* yielded vessels (or their fragments) of laminated bronze.

Of the precious metals gold was found in minute quantities in five or six well tombs. An entirely exceptional object was a ball of opaque rock crystal surmounted by a close-fitting cap of gold plate. The ball had a hole on the side opposite the cap in which a pin was evidently inserted. At least two ossuaries contained silver, one (a hut urn) yielding a rather heavy ring of this metal ⁴¹. The other (a Villanova ossuary) yielded a pendant and a small cylinder. A disc of a substance which should probably be regarded as electrum was also found in a hut urn (List I, No. 37). It was decorated with six bosses arranged *a giorno* around a larger central boss. It probably belongs to the same class of objects as the bronze discs of Latium, which latter are not entirely unknown to the necropolis of Vetulonia.

A lead ring should also be mentioned in this connection as a quite exceptional object. Fragments of ivory are also included by Falchi in his catalogue of the material of some of the *pozzo* tombs.

Two crudely formed figurines of cast bronze representing warriors are of uncommon value as examples of early efforts of the statuary's art. One was found in a well tomb on the eastern slope of Poggio alla Guardia, the other in a Villanova ossuary on the Colle Baroncio. The first represents a man with helmet and shield. The second is likewise helmeted, and clothed with a tunic descending

⁴¹ N. S. 1887, p. 523.

to his knees. Instead of a shield he grasps the hilt of his sword firmly in his right hand in the act of drawing it from the sheath that hangs from his side.

The foreign repositories are marked by their poverty in ceramics and their wealth in articles of personal adornment. None seem to have contained *impasto* vases such as were found in the well tombs, but a few pieces of bucchero (usually fragments) came to light. Nearly all the foreign repositories contained necklaces of glass and amber beads, and bronze fibulae *a sanguisuga* or *a navicella*. The material, however, which especially distinguishes them from the ordinary *pozzo* tombs was their elegant gold and silver jewelry. Fibulae, rings, pendants, and spirals of the former metal were found in this class of interments. Silver occurred in greater abundance in the form of fibulae, bracelets, rings, clasps, pins, and collars fashioned from little hollow cylinders and finely woven wire. A thin plate of silver was decorated in repoussé with concentric circles and figures resembling ducks. This jewelry was possibly in part imported from the eastern Mediterranean ⁴². Bronze was found in the foreign repositories in the form of fibulae, bits for horses, candelabra, paterae, and an occasional lance point.

Perhaps the most interesting objects of all yielded by the foreign repositories were the scarabs. Two made of a greenish vitreous paste and covered with hieroglyphics occurred in the so-called *tomba della Straniera*. They were examined by Prof. Schiaparelli and declared to be of Egyptian manufacture of the eighth or ninth century

⁴² Cf. *Studi e Materiali di Archeologia e Numismatica*, edited by Milani, the article entitled *Le Oreficerie di Vetulonia* by Karo, Vol. 2, pp. 79f.

B. C.⁴³. Amber scarabs were extracted from other repositories and are probably imitations.

A detailed analysis of the material of the hut urn burials considered apart from that yielded by other forms of ossuary leads to few positive results. In twelve instances the furniture was not particularized. Five urns were in such a poor condition that their contents were either quite or almost entirely unrecognizable. Three were found under such circumstances that it was inferred they had been robbed. Three may be dismissed as "very poor", while three others seem to have contained no furniture whatever. The twenty-one remaining urns (not quite a half of the sum total) are unquestionably richer than the average well tomb. This is especially true of five or six of the hut urns excavated from one of the circles of rough stones. It must be added, however, that other common ossuaries (i.e. of the Villanova type) found in the same circle were just as rich. The greater display of wealth, therefore, is a feature of the particular group and is related in no way to the form of the ossuary. Among the objects yielded by a hut urn of this circle (List I, No. 34) was a large and unique bronze fibula *a piattello*, the bow of which was wound with gold wire. Another hut urn (List I, No. 35, see Fig. 8), of the same group contained a short iron sword with a sheath fabricated of a spirally wound metallic band, a cup of indigenous bucchero with a high vertical handle surmounted by two *cornetti*, and a bronze lance with its *sauroter*. A third hut urn⁴⁴ yielded among other interesting objects two fibulae *a sanguisuga* formed of discs inserted on an ordinary fibula *ad arco semplice*. Another contained

⁴³ Cf. Falchi, Tav. V, Figs. 10, 10.

⁴⁴ N. S. 1887, p. 516, tomb VI.

the disc of electrum previously mentioned. Some of the vases belonging to this group were remarkable for the superior elegance of their form or decoration.

Besides the group of hut urns surrounded by the circle two other ossuaries of this type should be singled out for especial mention on account of their interesting funeral equipment. One of these was disinterred near the summit of Poggio alla Guardia⁴⁵. The other is one of the two found on Poggio alle Birbe (List I, No. 44). The former contained an oinochoë of ordinary form, an iron knife, a bronze lance, the silver ring previously alluded to, and a fragment of ivory which appeared to belong to a handle. The latter contained two fibulae *a sanguisuga*, one of which was handsomely engraved in parallel bands, three fibulae *a piattello*, a two-edged knife, bronze tweezers, bronze rings, and two other peculiar bronze objects the use of which cannot be determined. The first appeared to be a small tool. It was 6 cm. in length, with a long handle and a point like a lance. The second was a curved instrument 15 cm. in length with a head at one end⁴⁶.

The small number of supplementary vases employed in the burials at Vetulonia is shown by the fact that no hut urn deposition contained more than two. It should also be noted that there is no record that any hut urn on Poggio alla Guardia contained a lunate razor, although one each was yielded by two ossuaries of this type excavated on the Belvedere (List I, No. 46; see Fig. 14) and the Costa delle Dupiane⁴⁷. It is noteworthy also that no glass or paste beads were found in hut urns.

As previously stated, the well tomb burials taken as

⁴⁵ N. S. 1887, p. 522.

⁴⁶ Cf. Falchi, Tav. IV, Figs. 8, 17.

⁴⁷ N. S. 1887, p. 529, tomb XII.

a class furnish few sure data upon which a division into periods can be based. It would seem, however, that there is sufficient evidence at hand to recognize an earlier and a later development of the well tomb series. Beyond this simple division it would be unsafe to venture. If a line be drawn across the summit of Poggio alla Guardia from the north-west to the south-east extremity of the necropolis on that hill, it will be found that the tombs lying on that side of the line nearer Vetulonia appear in general to be more ancient than those on the opposite side. The only real exception to this rule is a small area at the very base of the hill on the west in close proximity to the Via del Piano, where some later material has appeared. Another spot very close to the summit on the south which yielded some advanced furniture, is too near our imaginary line to affect the general arrangement.

Taking into consideration the above exceptions, the material yielded by the mass of well tombs on the west and south of the line was very poor indeed ⁴⁸. It was here in places that the ossuaries were discovered to be so closely juxtaposed that Falchi was of the opinion that they must have been interred in trenches rather than in individual cavities. It was also noted that they were very near to the surface of the ground ⁴⁹. At other points the stone covers were so close to one another that the effect of a pavement was produced ⁵⁰. At the extreme west, near the entrance gate from the town to the hill, ossuaries were found superposed in two strata ⁵¹. The necropolis of Vetulonia is not the only one of the Villa-

⁴⁸ Cf. the first and second *saggi* of the year 1884 (*N. S.* 1885, pp. 114-15, and Tav. VI).

⁴⁹ Cf. Falchi, p. 36; also *N. S.* 1898, p. 103.

⁵⁰ Cf. Falchi, p. 34.

⁵¹ *N. S.* 1898, p. 101.

nova period where this crowding together of tombs was observed in spots where interments appeared to be of the most primitive character ⁵². Terramara cemeteries offer such obvious parallels to this practice that it is almost needless to cite examples ⁵³. The general similarity in the appearance of the burials as they were uncovered in the crowded sections of Poggio alla Guardia to those of such terramara settlements as Bovolone and Copezzato must have been great. At Bovolone some of the ossuaries stood among the remains of the funeral pyre, and they were usually covered with inverted terracotta basins just as at Vetulonia. It is also a well known fact that some of the terramara cinerary urns approach in form the biconical type ⁵⁴.

It is on the east and north-east of our imaginary line that the great number of richer tombs are found. Iron implements were more common here ⁵⁵. It was here that the bronze statuette was found, and certain painted ossuaries. It is on the east of this line also that the circles of rough stones are situated which surrounded the most sumptuous of all the Italic burials. The circles of white *sassovivo*, too, as we have seen, begin to appear in large numbers here. And it was on the eastern side of the hill or very near its top on the opposite side that nearly if not quite all the fibulae *a sanguisuga* and *a mignatta* yielded by well tombs were brought to light ⁵⁶.

⁵² Cf. for example, the preliminary reports of the excavations of Veii (N. S. 1919, pp. 6f.).

⁵³ Cf. Peet, *The Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy* (Oxford 1909), pp. 366-7.

⁵⁴ Cf. Peet, *op. cit.* p. 356.

⁵⁵ Cf. B. P. 1901, p. 167; N. S. 1898, p. 106.

⁵⁶ There is appended below a list of references to fibulae *a mignatta* and *a sanguisuga* in well tombs on Poggio alla Guardia.

2. — POGGIO ALLE BIRBE.

Poggio alle Birbe is of interest to us especially on account of three inhumation tombs *a fossa*. So few burials of this type are known in the vicinity of Vetulonia that they assume an importance disproportionate to their actual archaeological value. Such as they are they show, however, that inhumation was known and practiced here during the incineration period, and they link in this way the necropolis of Vetulonia with that of the Roman Forum and other sites to be examined hereafter.

The three tombs *a fossa* of Poggio alle Birbe showed nothing to indicate that they belonged to a later period than the ordinary run of well tombs. None of the graves were protected by defensive stone work. The heads of all three skeletons were turned toward the south. The contents of the first burial included articles of terracotta and bronze, but practically destroyed. The second burial was well enough preserved to show that the body had been laid out in a natural position with the arms resting on the pelvis. In other words there was no folding of the knees of the corpse such as was the custom during

N. S. 1885, p. 115, saggio III, tomb 1. Situated on the N. W. near the base of the hill. It is almost certain, as Falchi himself believes, that material from one or more foreign repositories was confused with well tomb material at the beginning of the excavations at this point. The former type of burial was not at once recognized.

N. S. 1887, pp. 516-17. Circles of rough stones surrounding Italic burials, on the east of the summit.

N. S. 1887, p. 520. A very few fibulae *a sanguisuga* yielded by one hundred and ninety-three tombs. All were excavated in the year 1886 on the east of the line. Cf. map on p. 472.

N. S. 1898, p. 111.

N. S. 1900, pp. 495-96. Near the summit on the south.

this period among the inhabitants of the regions to the east of the Apennines. The funeral equipment of this second burial consisted of rough vases similar to those of the *pozzo* tombs on Poggio alla Guardia, a large fibula *a piattello*, small objects resembling bronze bells, a small bone or ivory disk, and a lunate razor. Both the fibula and the razor show certain refinements which are lacking in earlier examples of these two types. The third *fossa* seems to have contained no articles other than a lunate razor ⁵⁷.

Three painted *impasto* objects are an indication that the *pozzo* burials of this hill do not belong to the earliest phase of the burials of Vetulonia, but are rather a continuation of the development witnessed on the eastern slope of Poggio alla Guardia. One of these painted objects was a biconical ossuary, another was a cup ⁵⁸, the third a hut urn ⁵⁹.

The funeral furniture of the only hut urn of Poggio alle Birbe (List I, No. 44 ; see Fig. 13) of whose supplementary objects a record was preserved, has already been described (page 77). Too much emphasis cannot be laid upon the fact that this is the only known hut urn which contained fibulae of the true *sanguisuga* type. One of them is illustrated in Falchi (Tav. IV, Fig. 21). This is very good evidence in itself that this particular hut urn belongs to a later period than any of the hut urn burials of Latium, or in fact than any of the burials in the exclusively crema-

⁵⁷ Falchi p. 56.

⁵⁸ Falchi p. 59.

⁵⁹ It is erroneously stated by Körte in his article "Etrusker" in Pauly-Wissowa (Col. 746) that no hut urns were found on Poggio alle Birbe. Two were there found. Cf. Falchi pp. 57-58. They are both in the Museum of Archaeology at Florence and are included of course in List I (Nos. 44 and 45).

tion areas of the Alban Hills, or in the Forum. It is also certain that it belongs to one of the later instances of this type of ossuary in Etruria.

Summarizing the facts observed in regard to the burials at Vetulonia the following conclusions are reached.

1. — The necropolis of Vetulonia is one in which the rite of cremation enjoyed a great and almost exclusive development.

2. — The largest and most important of all the burial areas — Poggio alla Guardia — contains cremation burials only.

3. — Inhumation tombs *a fossa* occur at Vetulonia, but the number known is exceedingly small.

4. — Some at least of the tombs *a fossa* contain material contemporary with ordinary *pozzetti*.

5. — A development of well tomb burials can be traced from the western to the eastern slope of Poggio alla Guardia and on to Poggio alle Birbe.

6. — The well tombs toward the summit and on the east of Poggio alla Guardia are sufficiently well marked from those on the west to enable us to distinguish an earlier and a later period in their development.

7. — The earlier period in the development of the well tombs is distinguished by poverty of equipment and by crowding of ossuaries.

8. — The later period in the development of well tombs is distinguished by group burials in stone circles, greater wealth in the depositions, the occurrence of painted terracotta and bronze ossuaries, and fibulae *a sanguisuga*. The very latest *pozzi* contained vases of indigenous bucchero. Two yielded statuettes of bronze.

9. — In the midst of the well tombs of the first period occurred certain cremation burials in which ossuaries were not used for the ashes and the accessory ar-

ticles of which were almost exclusively of eastern importation.

10. — Burials made in the manner of those in (9), but surrounded by discontinuous stone circles, and those surrounded by continuous stone circles belong to a later development of the foreign repositories. In the circle tombs proto-Corinthian vases occur.

11. — In some of the later circle burials the rite of cremation changes to that of inhumation.

12. — Beads of vitreous paste, arms of bronze and iron, and lunate razors already occur in the early period of the development of well tombs, and amber is in greater abundance than in Latium.

13. — The depositions of the well tombs were much more negligently protected than in Latium.

14. — *Dolia* were not used at Vetulonia.

15. — The prevailing type of ossuary is the Villanova urn.

16. — Hut urns are contemporary with Villanova ossuaries.

17. — One hut urn contained fibulae *a sanguisuga* fashioned from fibulae *ad arco semplice*; a second contained fibulae of the true *sanguisuga* type; a third contained a vase of indigenous bucchero; a fourth silver. Others contained weapons of bronze and iron, and lunate razors.

18. — Well tombs contained very little pottery.

19. — The pottery types are very few and show only the slightest affinities with those of Latium.

20. — Scarabs found in foreign repositories are of Egyptian manufacture of the eighth or ninth century B. C.

IV. — HUT URN BURIALS OF CORNETO-TARQUINIA

APPLYING the word "necropolis" in its wider and looser significance as including all groups of burials pertaining to Corneto whether Etruscan or pre-Etruscan, that part of the necropolis which has long been famed for its painted tombs goes under the name of the "Monterozzi". The district so called is an irregular plateau extending from the walls of the modern city toward the south-east. From a point on this plateau near the city over a space of more than four kilometers burials were made in great numbers from the first period of the Iron Age down into historical times. The wealth of archaeological material uncovered here during the last hundred years is immense almost beyond belief. It illustrates the culture of this part of Italy during the centuries that elapsed from the time when the cremation folk from the north were making their first settlements to the period of Roman domination. It comprises at the one extreme the rude Villanova ossuary and the hut urn, and at the other the superb painted tomb of the Typhon with its Latin inscription of perhaps the second century B. C.

In spite of the abundance of tombs unearthed on the Monterozzi and the voluminous accounts we possess of the excavations there made, this region is of decidedly inferior value for our present investigations. It is to another part of the necropolis of Corneto that we must turn for enlightenment. On the Monterozzi too many burials

of divers epochs are found within the same confines. The early cremation burials are so involved with later interments that it is impossible to form a just estimate of the original state of things. For Vetulonia we were able to trace a certain though perhaps slight development of cremation burials. Here, however, in so far as well tombs are concerned, conjectures only can be made¹. Much of the early material, too, of the Monterozzi was excavated and published in the early eighties before the present more scientific methods were in vogue. And the furniture of most of the tombs was not kept distinct, or has since become confused.

Fortunately we are in possession of accurate though succinct records of the earliest class of burials in another part of the territory of Corneto. The *Notizie* for 1907² contains an account of the excavation of three primitive burial areas which are only slightly contaminated by later interments. This work was carried on under the supervision of the late Professor Milani and Dr. Pernier of the Archaeological Museum in Florence. It is upon the results of these excavations that we must principally rely for light upon hut urn and contemporary burials in this part of Etruria.

At a distance of about seven kilometers almost directly east of the modern city rise three closely grouped eminences. They are the Poggio dell'Impiccato, Poggio di Selciatello, and Poggio di Selciatello-Sopra. On the first hill, of eighty-six recorded burials seventy-six appear to have been cremation and ten inhumation burials. On the second, seventy-eight burials were excavated and recorded, in all of which the rite of cremation was

¹ Cf. Ghirardini's statement on this head in *N. S.* 1882, p. 139.

² Pp. 43-82; 227-61; 321-52.

observed. On the last hill two hundred and three cremation tombs were uncovered and in their midst a single sarcophagus containing the skeleton of a child. One hut urn (List I, No. 49) was found among the ossuaries of Poggio dell'Impiccato and one among those of Poggio di Selciatello (List I, No. 48). On Poggio di Selciatello-Sopra none were discovered.

The cremation tombs excavated on the three hills named above were of several types. That most frequently employed was the simple cylindrical *pozzetto* covered with a slab of tufa or *nenfro*³. This, as has been observed, is also the prevailing type at Vetulonia. Rarely are the cavities lined with stone as is so often the case in Latium. Another common mode of burial, which was not employed either at Vetulonia or in Latium, was to inclose the ossuary in a roughly shaped receptacle of *nenfro* (or tufa) hollowed out ovaly in the interior to receive the deposition. These receptacles were usually of a cylindrical form with one end separate from the main section so as to constitute a cap-like cover. Some of the receptacles are almost square with an arched cover. At least two rectangular trenches containing cinerary urns were brought to light. The sides, ends, and top were covered with slabs of tufa. A fourth type of burial which was only of occasional use was the so-called tomb *a ziro* where the *pozzo* assumes the shape of a jar⁴.

³ This type of burial was found in greater numbers than all other types put together. This is probably true not only for the three hills just named but for all other parts of the necropolis of Corneto. Of two hundred and three tombs excavated on Poggio di Selciatello-Sopra one hundred and eighty-three were simple *pozzetti*.

⁴ This seems to be the proper use of the term *tomba a ziro*, although it is sometimes applied to *pozzi* regardless of their form in which jars i.e. *ziri* occur.

This type is known to the necropolis of Vetulonia ⁵. In order to complete the record of the types of tombs and to avoid retracing our steps, mention should be made of the discovery of cremation burials on the Monterozzi in which *dolia* were used ⁶. Although no burials in *dolia* were found on the three hills now under investigation, the mention of this fifth type exhausts the list for the entire necropolis of Corneto-Tarquinia. In this connection, too, it is pertinent to notice a method adopted in digging some of the *pozzetti* which was peculiar to the Monterozzi. In some places they were found connected by a labyrinthine network of trenches so that each well tomb was in direct or indirect communication with all of its neighbors. In some cases a single tomb was joined by as many as four passages with surrounding tombs. This manner of grouping tombs together invites comparison with the ossuaries surrounded by stone-circles at Vetulonia.

Of the seven Corneto hut urns for which I have found records five were contained in some sort of stone receptacle, and one was in a rectangular trench lined with tufa slabs. Only one urn was placed in an ordinary *pozzetto* in the bare earth and was probably devastated in ancient times. Since the *pozzetto* type of burial is in great preponderance at Corneto, it is evident that greater care was taken with hut urns than with the more ordinary kinds of ossuary.

In so far as the burial methods are concerned, the necropolis of Corneto shows greater affinity with Vetulonia than with Latium. The *nenfro* and tufa containers are features not met with at either of the latter sites, but at both Corneto and Vetulonia the simple *pozzo* without

⁵ N. S. 1885, p. 128, tomb 70 and Pl. VII, Fig. 4; p. 143, tomb 17.

⁶ N. S. 1882, p. 147; A. I. 1885, p. 10.

a protecting *dolium* greatly preponderates, whereas in Latium the *dolium* is very common.

As at Vetulonia, the Villanova ossuary covered by a flat dish with one handle (the *ciotola*) is the ordinary type of cinerary urn. The *ciotola* at Vetulonia was replaced in a few instances by a terracotta helmet. At Corneto these helmet covers were found in much greater abundance. Some of them are of bronze and of very good workmanship. They assume several forms, including the *pileus* and the style with high crest. They are ordinarily decorated with bands and circles of bosses in tasteful and varied designs. In one of these a schematic representation of the human face is discernible⁷. Two helmets of terracotta, one from the Monterozzi (List II, No. 19) and the other from Poggio dell'Impiccato (List II, No. 18) were surmounted by caps imitating a hut roof. Just beneath the cap of the former helmet was a rough representation of a human face.

An account of the earliest burials of Corneto should begin with Poggio di Selciatello because, to all appearances, this part of the necropolis was the most ancient. It appeared to Pernier to yield material of the most primitive stamp. It is the northernmost of the three hills of this group and the nearest to the Piano della Regina, which is considered by some archaeologists to have been the site of the Etruscan city. Whatever other arguments there may be against supposing the Etruscan city to have occupied this position, the topographical evidence certainly favors the location of the earliest settlement in these parts on the Piano della Regina rather than the site of the modern city. The former position is central to all the Iron Age burials both cremation

⁷ N. S. 1907, p. 64, Fig. 17a.

and inhumation, which extend about it in a half-circle on the south and east and even in isolated areas on the north⁸. It is also to be noted that all the most ancient burials of the Monterozzi are grouped on the sides of the hills nearest this plain. To suppose that Corneto-Tarquiniia itself, on the contrary, was the location of the most ancient inhabited center would seem to put many of the more distant parts of the necropolis out of reach. The central position of Vetulonia, where there seems to exist no longer any doubt as to the site of the original settlement, will be remembered. Also it is well to bear in mind the parallel situation at Marino and the position of the tombs there in respect to the modern town.

Not only is the rite of cremation the only one in evidence on Poggio di Selciatello, but all the ossuaries were of the Villanova type except the one hut urn. (List I, No. 48). Unless all of our data in respect to the funeral furniture are faulty, and unless Pernier is wrong in regarding the burials here to be in general more ancient than those on Poggio dell'Impiccato and Poggio di Selciatello-Sopra, this is good evidence, certainly, that the Villanova urn was the original type of ossuary in these parts.

It might perhaps be expected, inasmuch as this is recognized to be the oldest section of the necropolis of Corneto, that the hut urn found here, when compared with other hut urns, would appear to belong to a primitive type. But this is not the case for the specimen from Poggio di Selciatello shows indications of advancement. In the first place its ground plan is rectangular. As is well known, Latian hut urns are all, without exception,

⁸ Cf. the reprinted section of the government map in *N.S.* 1907, p. 44. This same year primitive burials were discovered on Poggio Gallinaro and Poggio degli Archi, and later burials containing Corinthian vases at other places.

of circular or oval plan. In the second place its decorative scheme is very elaborate. It consists of incised squares filled with a modified swastika pattern, and other designs which seem to have been intended to represent schematically the human figure. Thirdly, a window is represented on its left side. Compared with the ruder of the urns from south of the Tiber, the example from Poggio di Selciatello appears to belong to a later stage of development. Very little weight, however, I believe, can be placed on such differences as are noted above. They can readily be explained on the theory of local variations of type and varying degrees of skill and readiness in the potter. The material — the local *impasto* — is the same in all cases. As for the ground plan, the rectangular form is as natural and simple as the round, and the case for the priority of the round hut over the straight-sided hut is by no means proven. No safe inferences as to chronology can be drawn from the classifications of Ghirardini and later of Taramelli⁹, who attempt to trace the development of the primitive habitation through an examination of the hut urns. Where such data, however, can be supplemented by evidence derived from other sources such as topography and accessory material, chronological deductions become dependable. Now in respect to the urn of Poggio di Selciatello we do seem to be in possession of this agreement of evidence. In addition to the advanced type of urn the necropolis itself apparently belongs to a somewhat later period than any cremation area in Latium. At the earliest it is contemporary with their more recent development. If this appearance of posteriority in the necropolis under

⁹ See *N. S.* 1881, pp. 354f. *R. L.* 1893, pp. 438f. The article just cited is the most important recent contribution to the literature of hut urns that has come to my attention.

investigation be not due merely to greater local advancement, the Villanova civilization at Corneto must be *a priori* of a later date than the earlier part of the cremation period just south of the Tiber.

Examining in detail the material yielded by Poggio di Selciatello, we find that the ceramics are exclusively of coarse, dark *impasto* with smoothed surface. Important evidence for the more recent date of many of the burials on Poggio dell'Impiccato and Poggio di Selciatello-Sopra rests upon the knowledge that in addition to ordinary *impasto* fabrics, vases were there found made of a finer red *impasto*, and even Italo-geometric ware.

The forms of the vases, as usual in these very early times, are of slight aid in determining matters of chronology. They do, none the less, show cultural affinities. As is to be expected, perhaps, from its geographical position, the ceramics of Corneto show much closer relationship with Latium than those of Vetulonia. Poggio di Selciatello yielded two cups with double handles and one with an *ansa cornuta* of Latian type. Small jars, or mugs, were the most common form. Among them are reckoned biconical vases very similar to those found south of the Tiber. Three tombs contained rude goblets, or chalices, resembling the one found in the Forum Sepulcretum. A vase in the form of a boat (*a barchetta*) on a high foot was unique. Two examples of double vases (*kerni*) were found, one of which was adorned with bronze studs. The mention of numerous spindle-whorls, and twenty-four spools (*rocchetti*) all of which were in a single tomb, exhausts the varieties of terracotta objects.

The smaller articles yielded by Poggio di Selciatello furnish us with the data from which to infer the general anteriority of the early cremation burials of Rome and the

Alban Hills. This necropolis produced four objects of iron — a fibula *a drago*, the disc of another fibula, a knife, and a ring. Nine lunate razors were also found. It will be remembered that these objects occur for the first time in Latium in inhumation burials. But there were also four razors with rectangular blade (*a palletta*) such as were found in the exclusively cremation areas about the Alban Lake. Five tombs contained fibulae the bows of which had inserted upon them beads of vitreous paste. No true fibulae *a sanguisuga* or *a mignatta* appeared, although a single example of this type formed by amber discs instead of metal was found. Fibulae *ad arco semplice* and *ad arco serpeggiante* predominated. Amber and laminated bronze were as rare as in the early Latian tombs. Of gold two tombs contained a minute quantity; of lead there was a single almond-shaped pendant. No bronze helmets were used as covers for ossuaries on Poggio di Selciatello, but there were three of terracotta.

The hut urn burial yielded nothing in the way of furniture except a single fibula *ad arco serpeggiante*.

It is pertinent to recall here the point made as to the relative chronology of paste beads in Latium. Forum inhumation tomb II, it will be remembered, differed in respect to the character of its equipment from the cremation tombs only in the possession of paste beads and a considerable quantity of amber. On the other hand it differed from the later inhumation tombs in the possession of fibulae *ad arco semplice* and primitive vase-types without containing any fibulae *a sanguisuga* or more advanced ceramics. Now paste beads, as observed above, were yielded by the burials of Poggio di Selciatello, but in no one of them — seventy-eight in all — was found a single fibula *a sanguisuga* of true type. In view of the

considerable number of burials on this hill and their agreement in contents in the respect noted above with Forum sepulcher II, it would appear that the later interments of the former group and the latter grave are roughly contemporary. At least there can be no doubt that both are of a somewhat later date than the typical cremation burial of Latium. In the case of the Cornetan tombs which we are here considering, the last supposition is further strengthened by the fact that they yielded objects of iron and lunate razors. Furthermore, it would also appear, there is reason to believe that fibulae *a sanguisuga* were introduced after beads of vitreous paste had become common.

In view of the suggestion that paste beads may antedate the introduction of the true fibula *a sanguisuga* or *a mignatta* it is interesting to note the results of the excavations made at Bismantova in the province of Reggio ¹⁰. The cemetery of Bismantova belongs to the beginning of the Iron Age. Fibulae *ad arco semplice* were here found, razors of one blade directly derived from the halved double-bladed type of the terramare ¹¹, pins with heads of glass paste, and a few other small objects of glass. No fibulae approached in type the fibulae *a sanguisuga* and *a mignatta* yielded by the inhumation tombs of Latium and the later inhumation and cremation tombs of Etruria.

Let us now turn to the necropolis which seems to follow in order of time that which we have just considered. Of the three before mentioned closely grouped hills, Poggio dell'Impiccato is situated the farthest from the Piano della Regina. It is the western side of this hill —

¹⁰ Cf. *B.P.* 1876, p. 252; 1882, p. 120.

¹¹ Cf. *B.P.* 1894, pp. 9-10.

the side nearest the Piano della Regina — which served especially for an ancient burial ground. Of one hundred and ten tombs here discovered eighty-six with their contents are separately listed in the reports. They fall into two groups. The larger, consisting of seventy-one listed tombs, was excavated in the year 1904. It was on the western slope of the hill. In only one of these tombs was the rite of inhumation observed. The following year the second group was discovered. It was situated toward the north-east of the first group. It comprised nine inhumation burials, with which were apparently mingled six cremation burials¹². The nine inhumation burials consisted of sarcophagi containing skeletons of children.

The ceramics yielded by the necropolis of Poggio dell'Impiccato were for the most part of the ordinary coarse dark *impasto* which, we have seen, form exclusively the material of the ceramics of Poggio di Selciatello. There were some vases, however, of reddish *impasto* of a much more handsome appearance. A few only were made of purified, well baked clay. Pernier observed that vases of the last two kinds were found more often in inhumation than in cremation tombs. In fact, of the nine sarcophagi five yielded objects of reddish *impasto* or purified clay¹³. The forms of the vases here found require no particular mention.

In contrast to the helmet covers exclusively of terracotta yielded by Poggio di Selciatello, three of those of Poggio dell'Impiccato were of laminated bronze. Two were found in a single tomb, one serving as a cover and

¹² The reports leave some uncertainty as to the relative position of these inhumation and cremation burials. Cf. *N.S.* 1907, p. 51 under F and the list beginning on p. 81.

¹³ *N.S.* 1907, p. 63.

the other as a base to the ossuary. All three belonged to depositions made in rectangular cases of stone, the contents of which were richer than the contents of the ordinary *pozzetti* and cylindrical containers of *nenfro* and tufa. Other objects of laminated bronze were found in greater abundance than on Poggio di Selciatello. The latter necropolis yielded only a few small objects such as a bracelet and discs, while the necropolis now under consideration yielded vases of this material.

Arms were rare. Nevertheless three bronze lance points with their caps, a bronze dagger, and an iron dagger were among the finds. Knives with convex-concave blades only were yielded by the necropolis of Poggio di Selciatello. This fact alone tends to indicate the general anteriority of the latter necropolis and its closer approach to the cremation tombs of Latium, which never yield true arms, though rarely knives of the type above mentioned are found.

Another fact giving evidence of the later date of the burials on Poggio dell'Impiccato is that all of the razors which were found are of the lunate form. No rectangular razors were yielded such as those from Poggio di Selciatello and the early burials of Latium.

In all the tombs of Poggio dell'Impiccato one or more fibulae were found. The type *ad arco semplice* is the most common. Fibulae *a sanguisuga* now appear, although they are still rather rare. The type *a foglia* also occurs. A unique find was a splendid bronze fibula with the arc wound with gold wire and having a plated gold disk.

Glass ornaments appeared in only three tombs. Of the seventy-one tombs in the first group the inhumation tomb alone contained objects of this material. One might perhaps expect to find glass in this area in greater abundance.

Another important distinction between the burial area which we are here describing and that of Poggio di Selciatello consists in the finding of two tombs *a ziro* in the former area, while the latter yielded no burials of this description. An examination of the contents of these tombs having the configuration of *a ziro*, or jar, and other tombs *a ziro* on Poggio di Selciatello-Sopra conclusively demonstrates that they are of a later date than the ordinary *pozzo* burials. One of the tombs *a ziro* of Poggio dell'Impiccato yielded the following material : a vase of red *impasto*, a cylix of fine yellowish *impasto*, numerous fragments of laminated bronze, a lance point, a lunate razor, and a fibula *a mignatta*¹⁴. The other yielded a vase and a cup of laminated bronze, two large fibulae *a mignatta*, and five small fibulae *a sanguisuga*¹⁵. Neither vases of the finer *impasto*, nor of laminated bronze, nor lance points, nor fibulae of this type, occur on Poggio di Selciatello and they appear in such small number on Poggio dell'Impiccato itself that we are warranted in assigning these tombs *a ziro*, tentatively at least, to a later date than the ordinary run of burials. We shall see further on that the *ziro* tombs of Poggio di Selciatello-Sopra strengthen this conviction.

At Chiusi the succession of the tombs *a ziro* to the simple well tombs is an established fact¹⁶. At Vetulonia, on the other hand, the contents of the few tombs of this type differ in no wise from the most primitive burials.

The hut urn of Poggio dell'Impiccato was decorated in geometric patterns by the application of lead. It, too, has a window on one side indicated by a double

¹⁴ N. S. 1907, p. 75-tomb 34.

¹⁵ N. S. 1907, p. 79-tomb 57.

¹⁶ See Gsell, *Fouilles dans la Nécropole de Vulci*: index under the word *ziro*.

casement in relief without an actual aperture. Its furniture consisted of five small *impasto* vases, a lunate razor, and a large fibula with engraved disc and elastic bow.

The much larger necropolis of Poggio di Selciatello-Sopra, whose burials exceed in number those of the two former hills combined, seems to have been in use at about as early a date as Poggio di Selciatello and to have continued in use longer, possibly, than Poggio dell'Impiccato. There is no question, indeed, but that all three areas overlap chronologically. The fact that no hut urn occurs on Poggio di Selciatello-Sopra is of no chronological significance. These ossuaries were used comparatively little at Corneto.

Owing to the absence of hut urns Poggio di Selciatello-Sopra does not properly fall within our survey, but it offers certain data for comparison with the two other hills which cannot be neglected.

In the first place it yielded objects which relate it with the tradition embodied in the hut urn. Two stelae of *nenfro*, one of which was surmounted by a large flattened cone 70 cm. in diameter, and the other by a rectangular cap manifestly in imitation of a hut roof, were unearthed between two *pozzetti*. Both were broken off at the bottom, yet enough of the sustaining portion was preserved to show that they were originally set upright in the earth for the purpose of marking burials. Objects of the latter sort have been found in the Faliscan territory and at Bisenzio. They are further illustration of the ancient Italic conception that the cemetery was a city to receive the *manes* of those who had departed from life on the surface of the earth. Other illustrations of this idea are seen in the terramara city of the dead at Castellazzo, and in the corridors for intercommunication of

the dead on the Monterozzi, as well as in the conception of the hut urn itself.

In one important particular the area now under consideration differs from the two previously described. Whereas, excepting the two hut urns, all the ossuaries of Poggio di Selciatello and Poggio dell'Impiccato were of the biconical type, seven of diverse form were yielded by Poggio di Selciatello-Sopra. Two of these ossuaries deserve special attention. They were made according to improved technical methods, the knowledge of which was probably gained through intercourse with the East, and belong to a period certainly posterior to the earlier development of *impasto* ware in cremation burials. The first is an *olla* with polished red surface, of a form used for supplementary vases in some of the tombs. The second ossuary was of a form resembling a hydria. Its cover was of potter's clay, and was painted in geometric style with horizontal bands of a brown tone. The contents of the tomb in which the hydria was found are also indicative of its comparatively late date, for it contained a painted cup, a band of laminated bronze, and four engraved fibulae *a mignatta*.

Other ossuaries which departed from the standard biconical form were also in the likeness of *olle*; two took the form of large mugs with a single handle; one was a nearly globular urn. I am inclined to see in these ossuaries survivals of an earlier culture which is represented by the cremation tombs of Latium — a civilization which appears to have developed in its main features before the Villanova ossuary was introduced into southern Etruria. They are to be classed with hut urns to the extent that they indicate a departure from that type of urn which was traditional in the Villanova civilization. These ossuaries seem either to be manifestations of an earlier cul-

ture in this same region — a culture which possessed no ritual urn type in general use — or else their presence at Corneto was due to direct influence from south of the Tiber.

As on Poggio dell'Impiccato the tombs *a ziro* furnished full proof of their posteriority to the earlier development of the ordinary tombs *a pozzo*. They were two in number. One contained a painted cylix of the earliest type, a cup of laminated bronze, articles of glass paste, and three fibulae *a mignatta* ¹⁷. The other also contained a cylix similar to that in the preceding tomb ¹⁸.

Omitting mention of earlier tombs whose contents are on a par with those of Poggio di Selciatello and Poggio dell'Impiccato, it is well to confine our attention for a few pages to the latest burials, since, as was the case with the Forum Sepulcretum, they furnish us data of a quite dependable sort for fixing an approximate *terminus ad quem* to the earlier development. But whereas at Rome the six late inhumation burials with their Corinthian lecythi and Nicosthenes amphorae belong to a period when cremation had long ceased, at Corneto the interments yielding fine red *impasto* and the first Italo-geometric ware are mostly well tombs and are representative of the period when the rite was changing.

The red fabrics of the kind found on Poggio dell'Impiccato and Poggio di Selciatello-Sopra seem to be due to Cypriote influence just as were probably the oenochorae and animal-shaped aski of Vetulonia. The inhabitants of Cyprus were acquainted with the technique of this red ware from the Age of Copper ¹⁹. It originated in an

¹⁷ N. S. 1907, p. 249, tomb 93.

¹⁸ N. S. 1907, p. 257, tomb 174.

¹⁹ Cf. Gabrici in *M. A.* XXII-1, Col. 415. Myres and Richter, *A Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum* (1899), p. 16, p. 36.

attempt to produce a cheap substitute for and imitation of the more expensive metal fabrics. The red finish was obtained by mixing oxide of iron in the outer coating of the *impasto* ²⁰.

The main forms of this ware at Corneto are the hemispherical bowl (*calotta*), a kind of crater, *olle*, and a round vase on a high foot resembling the seed cup of a poppy and hence referred to by the expression *a testa di papavero*. These vases are sometimes painted in white bands or other simple geometric figures. The hemispherical bowl and the vase *a testa di papavero* are also found in laminated bronze ²¹. This same class of ceramics also occurs in abundance at Narce in the Faliscan territory and indeed in the so-called necropolis of the Petrina, which is the oldest of the settlement. It appears there in both cremation and inhumation burials ²². It is wanting, on the other hand, in the necropolis of Monte Sant'Angelo, where cremation is the exclusive rite, as completely as on Poggio di Selciatello. Investigations have shown that Narce was founded as a result of the abandonment of the earlier settlement on Monte Sant'Angelo ²³. It is in the eight century that the founding of Narce is placed by Pasqui, not only because of the data furnished by the burials, but also from a comparison of its walls with the primitive fortifications which existed on Monte Sant'Angelo.

A comparison of a vase of the form *a testa di papavero* yielded by tomb 138 of Poggio di Selciatello-Sopra with

²⁰ For a good description of this class of ceramics see Pasqui in *M. A.* IV, Col. 235; also cf. Gabrici in *M. A.* XXII-1, Col. 404.

²¹ Cf. *M. A.* XXII-1, Col. 405; *M. A.* IV, Col. 213 and Fig. 96.

²² See *M. A.* IV, Col. 400f.

²³ *M. A.* IV, Col. 104. See also Van Duhn in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. 16 (1896), p. 126.

that of *pozzo* tomb 32 of the necropolis of the Petrina will serve to illustrate the likeness of the ceramics of the two regions ²⁴. Other comparisons may be made at pleasure. It is evident that we have to do here with parallel developments. A vase very similar to the above was also found in a tomb *a cassa* at Vulci, which tomb Gsell places in the period of transition from well tombs to trench tombs ²⁵.

It is in two cylices from Poggio di Selciatello-Sopra ²⁶ that we see the surest evidence of trade relations between Corneto and Cyprus in the eighth century. These cylices are representative of a familiar Greek geometric style. They are painted with horizontal bands leaving spaces set off by short perpendicular lines, in which are schematic figures of birds and rudimentary rosettes. Two almost exactly similar cups the provenience of which is Idalium and Maroni in Cyprus are in the Cesnola collection ²⁷. A similar cylix discovered in the Faliscan territory is in the Villa Giulia museum at Rome ²⁸. Primitive cylices of approximately the same form but with less elaborate geometric decoration are found in various early burials in Italy, e. g. in the pre-Hellenic graves at Cumae. ²⁹

Few were the vases of potter's clay yielded by the necropolis of Poggio di Selciatello-Sopra. As the later phase of the burials here is contemporary with the necropolis of the Petrina at Narce, a comparison of the two is instructive. One burial only in the latter area yielded vases of this description. As on Poggio di Selciatello-

²⁴ N. S. 1907, p. 231, Fig. 32; M. A. IV, Col. 245, Fig. 108.

²⁵ *Fouilles de Vulci*, Pl. 1, Fig. 3.

²⁶ Cf. N. S. 1907, p. 231, Fig. 33, and p. 232.

²⁷ Cf. M. A. XXII-1, Col. 410, Figs. 156-57.

²⁸ Cf. M. A. XXII-1, Fig. 155.

²⁹ Cf. M. A. XXII-1, Col. 111, Fig. 52.

Sopra, the great number of pieces were of coarse dark native *impasto*, with vases of red *impasto* second in point of number.

Extending our examination to the Cornetan inhumation graves which are just later than the transition burials of Poggio di Selciatello-Sopra containing Italo-geometric ware of the earliest class, we find that they yield a particular type of geometric ware of which an oenochœ with tall neck is perhaps the most frequent form³⁰. Now this same class of ceramics is abundant in the very earliest Greek tombs at Cumae³¹. In a certain inhumation burial of Poggio Gallinaro at Corneto Gàbrici does not fail to recognize many forms of vases proper to the Chalcidian colony³². Pottery of this same class was also among the furniture of the *tomba del Guerriero* of Corneto which Karo, in a very recent article, places a few decades earlier than the celebrated Bokchoris grave (cf. p. 44) which is approximately dated, apart from other considerations, by an inscription on a fayence vase³³.

Assuming that a permanent Chalcidian colony was settled at Cumae about the year 730 B. C., the traditional date, and observing that the geometric ware there found in Greek tombs occurs only in the *fossa* period at Corneto, it is reasonable to suppose that the change in burial rite at the latter place occurred during the course of the second half of the eighth century. Considering the ad-

³⁰ Cf. contents of tomb 8 illustrated on p. 339 of *N. S.* 1907, Fig. 68. Gàbrici calls the vases illustrated in the two lower rows "Chalcidian".

³¹ See contents of tomb 22 illustrated on p. 235 of *M. A.* XXII-1, Fig. 79, and what Gàbrici has to say about their antiquity in Col. 318f.

³² *M. A.* XXII-1, Col. 413, and note 2.

³³ *A. M.* Vol. 45, p. 114.

vanced material of many of the well tombs at Corneto it would seem, in fact, that the change to inhumation did not begin to make progress before the beginning of the last quarter of the century. Inhumation burials of the type of that on Poggio Gallinaro cited above and the *tomba del Guerriero* should fall around the year 700 or shortly thereafter.

The excavator of the three hills at Corneto, Dr. Pernier, places the tombs *a ziro*, the inhumation burials of Poggio dell'Impiccato and Poggio di Selciatello-Sopra, as well as the earliest inhumation burials of Poggio Gallinaro all in the eighth century, but without attempting to make finer time distinctions ³⁴.

Having treated those burial areas at Corneto concerning which we possess satisfactory records, attention must now be directed to the region of the Monterozzi. Confused and uncertain as much of the evidence is for the early interments here, a few significant data are ascertainable, and especially the hut urn burials themselves in this quarter cannot be neglected.

As an example of the difficulties that render impracticable any attempt to form a rational conception of the primitive condition of the Monterozzi in the *pozzo* period, before the ground was disturbed by later burials, this statement of Ghirardini's will suffice. He says that during the course of the excavations in a certain part of this region there were found "accumulated in successive periods in the same precincts as the archaic necropolis itself" the following types of interments: (1) well tombs; (2) inhumation graves with furniture very similar to the well tombs; (3) inhumation graves containing vases with geometric designs and bucchero; (4) tombs *a corridoio*

³⁴ N. S. 1907, pp. 350f.

containing Corinthian vases and bucchero; (5) tombs *a camera* with black figured Attic vases; (6) tombs *a buco* with a single painted vase containing the ashes of the corpse³⁵. What is true of this particular part of the Monterozzi holds good in varying degrees for the entire district.

If any one portion of this extensive area may be selected as having a more consistently primitive aspect than another, it is that in which excavations were conducted in 1880 on the east of the mediaeval aqueduct, about two and one half kilometers from the modern city³⁶. Many of the burials of this locality were on a par with the poorest at Vetulonia, consisting of the Villanova urn and a lunate razor, or a rough *impasto* vase. In fact the pottery here found was, excepting perhaps a single piece, exclusively of the latter material. It offered interesting parallels to some of the ceramics of Latium. Besides a hut urn of rectangular plan the furniture of which had been rifled, there were lamps (*a barchetta*) — a form which is not met with in the ceramics of Vetulonia. The same rude attempt was observed to represent plastically the human form such as we find in a few well tombs south of the Tiber. The number of such figures, however, was proportionally greater. Animal forms, too, were moulded in terracotta. The *barchette* mentioned above had figureheads of animal type. Triple intercommunicating vases of the style termed “kerni”, and earthen candelabra, one with seven branches and one with nine, deserve special mention as uncommon forms. It is probable that the latter objects are imitations of bronzes.

The only exception to the primitive *impasto* ware which has come to my attention in this locality is a small

³⁵ N. S. 1882, p. 191.

³⁶ N. S. 1881, p. 342.

amphora of fine, light clay of native form. The occurrence here of this anomolous object invites comparison with the fragments of the double-handled cup of potter's clay (also of native form) which were found in the necropolis of the Villa Cavalletti in the Alban Hills. Both were quite foreign to all the rest of the pottery in their respective areas. It would appear from the two instances that this superior material was known to the potter's art even before the red *impasto* fabrics came into use ³⁷.

Ancient as this part of the necropolis undoubtedly is, still it yielded about fifteen examples of a peculiar type of fibula *a sanguisuga* made of thin round plates of bronze fitting nicely one into another and increasing in diameter toward the center. There were also found here two handsome helmets of bronze decorated *a sbalzo*, which were employed as covers for cinerary urns. Another interesting bronze was a fantastic animal mounted on four wheels.

Ghirardini notes that no iron was yielded by these excavations.

The *pozzo* tombs excavated during the course of the two following years (1881-82), somewhat to the east and south of the area described above, yielded much richer material ³⁸. The wealth of several of the tombs found here containing ossuaries of the Villanova type exceeds that of any we have previously examined, not excepting those of the circles of rough stones at Vetulonia. The bulk of the equipment consisted in bronzes. The few objects of terracotta were of the ordinary dark *impasto*. There was nothing to compare with the painted vases of Poggio di Selciatello-Sopra. The bronzes included ossuaries, vases, belts, animal figurines, bits for horses,

³⁷ N. S. 1881, p. 353, Pl. V, Fig. 9.

³⁸ N. S. 1882, p. 136.

tubes of necklaces, pendants, helmets, swords, lances, tripods, lunate razors, amulets, chains, and fibulae. Of the latter a single tomb contained no less than seventy-four, only one of which was of an advanced type (*a navicella*)³⁹. Iron was not wanting although the metal was by no means common. Some half-dozen depositions yielded a minute quantity of gold, including a fibula decorated *a filigrana* and a spiral of wire. The most interesting objects brought to light during the course of these excavations were a scarab of white enamel and an Egyptian idol. Neither was of value in determining the date of the burials. The scarab, strange to relate, bore the name of a King of Egypt of the thirteenth dynasty (2200-2100 B. C.). The idol bore the legend in hieroglyphics "Mut who dwels in the temple of Ptah". The presence of these articles, together with the abundance of bronze, points apparently to a single source. It was Cyprus which was famous for its great bronze trade in antiquity. The very name of this metal in Latin, *cuprum*, is strong evidence for the part played by this island in the exportation of the finished commodity which constituted its principal source of wealth. It is to the Phoenicians of Cyprus or the continent, it would seem, who were the middlemen in the copper trade as well as the carriers between Egypt and the West, that we should look for an explanation of the presence of the above material on Italian soil. The absence of pottery which can be identified as of Greek origin or due to Greek influence seems to show that these particular burials can hardly be later than the third quarter of the eighth century.

It is to the category of the tombs containing the rich

³⁹ N. S. 1882, p. 152f. Cf. also the inventory of the rich tombs on pp. 162, 178, 180.

bronze deposits, gold, the scarab, the idol, and *impasto* vases that two hut urns excavated in the same area belong. That they were found adjoining the rich burials described in *N. S.* 1882, p. 152ff. is a clear inference from the reports. It is a pity, however, that their precise location in reference thereto is not indicated. The contents of the tombs containing the hut urns show several points of contact with the richer burials in which ossuaries of the biconical form were employed. One of the hut urns (List I, No. 51) yielded two simple vases of *impasto*; a bronze fibula almost identical to the by no means common type found in the tomb with the bronze helmet, described in *N. S.* 1882, p. 162⁴⁰, in this case without the gold wire; a coil of bronze wire similar to the one of gold found in the tomb with the bronze ossuary described on p. 152⁴¹; and a miniature bronze tripod resembling closely the one found in the tomb with the bronze helmet cited above⁴². The other hut urn (List I, No. 52) yielded three vases of *impasto*, one of which was a *barchetta*; a fibula with simple bow wound with bronze wire in the same manner as the one with gold mentioned above; a lunate razor; a lance; and a tripod duplicating the one from the first hut urn. It is possible also that a spherical vessel of bronze with cover and chain handle belongs to this tomb, although it is not certain⁴³. Both hut urns were decorated with white pigment. The second is especially elaborate. It has a window with double,

⁴⁰ The fibula is illustrated in *N. S.* 1882, Pl. XIII, Fig. 20.

⁴¹ The metal coil is illustrated in Pl. XIII, Fig. 2.

⁴² Cf. Pl. XII, Fig. 6 with XIII, Fig. 6. Observe the bends in the legs of both tripods. The rarity of these objects is such as to make the finding of them in the rich Villanova urn and the hut urn good evidence for relating them.

⁴³ See *N. S.* 1882, Pl. XII, Fig. 7.

and a door with triple, casements painted with squares. About the latter runs a design *a dent de loup*. The eight rafters on each side of the roof end at the ridgepole in heads resembling those of ducks. They are covered with white. On the front of the roof is a design in imitation of the human figure. It is almost exactly similar to a figure impressed on the door of an Alban urn⁴⁴. A third urn (List I, No. 53) from the same area is closely similar to the one described above, and so perhaps belongs to the same period. Its furniture comprised a biconical pitcher with vertical handle; three cups; and a vase with two mouths on a high foot, all of *impasto*; a lunate razor; and a bronze bracelet.

During the course of the same excavations and probably in the same areas as the burials referred to above there was brought to light a biconical ossuary surmounted by a helmet capped with a small hut roof under which were indicated the features of a human face (List II, No. 19). The furniture consisted of a bowl of the type ordinarily used to cover urns, a cup with double handle, a *barchetta* with an animal head at the prow, and two horses, two wheels, and a yoke of terracotta. The last five objects mentioned, according to a conjecture of Ghirardini, were once connected to a small wooden *biga*.

A fourth hut urn from this region was without accessory objects. It was probably ransacked in ancient times (List I, No. 54).

In seeking to determine the *terminus ad quem* of the development of cremation tombs on the Monterozzi we must turn to a small number of burials in *dolia* which Helbig recognized as long ago as 1885 as containing material of a more advanced character than that of the

⁴⁴ Montelius II-1, Pl. 140, Fig. 9b.

great mass of ordinary *pozzo* tombs ⁴⁵. Two of these burials in *dolia* deserve particular mention, and they may stand as representative of the class. They were located in an area about 150 meters south of the excavations of 1881-82, which yielded tombs *a pozzo* with material of a more primitive stamp. Their position favours the hypothesis that the Iron Age settlement in these parts stood on the Piano della Regina, since it would appear thereby that the original necropolis developed from the northern slopes of the Monterozzi toward the south, i. e. from points nearer the Piano della Regina to points more distant from it.

The ashes of the first tomb *a dolio* reposed in a bronze cinerary urn. The deposition included, among other objects, a number of bronze vases ; a belt of the same material ; fibulae, some of which were of the *sanguisuga* type ; an iron knife ; glass beads ; one piece of silver ; and a painted vase of the form *a testa di papavero*. The latter was covered with a coat of whitish stucco. The decoration was in red bands and squares ⁴⁶.

The second tomb contained among other objects, which included an iron lance point and fibulae, a painted chytra. This vase had been covered with red pigment after firing, and was adorned with bands and inverted triangles of red. On the cover were rough plastic figures of two men and a horse standing between them. These figures were decorated with red bands ⁴⁷.

The painted vases of the two tombs *a dolio* clearly belong to the same class as those of the latest burials of

⁴⁵ *A.I.* 1885, pp. 10-11.

⁴⁶ *N.S.* 1885, pp. 443f. The painted vase is illustrated in the same volume, Tav. XIV, Fig. 6.

⁴⁷ *N.S.* 1885, pp. 456f. Cf. Tav. XIV, Fig. 9 for illustration of the painted vase.

Poggio di Selciatello-Sopra and so should be assigned to approximately the same period, i. e. to that immediately preceding the introduction of geometric ware (e. g. the oenochœ) of the type found in the earliest Greek burials at Cumae. It would appear that these tombs *a dolio* are a little later than the *pozzi* (including hut urns) we have just described which contained rich bronze furniture and other objects of Cypriot-Phoenician importation but no painted ware.

Reference cannot be omitted here to a certain tomb *a corridoio*, with a stone bench for the deposition of a corpse, in which was found an ossuary of Villanova form ⁴⁸. This discovery has been used as evidence of the late continuance of the Villanova rite at Corneto. We are not prepared to say that urn and tomb in this case were not contemporary. On the other hand there is no proof that they were. The possibility is always to be considered that in the construction of the later form of tomb an earliest burial was disturbed, and that the latter was preserved out of respect for the dead. We have seen how funeral vases were deposited in the base of Domitian's statue in the Forum. We have also seen that there is reason to suspect acts prompted by the same motive at Terni and in the Forum Sepulcretum. Other such instances will be met in the chapter on Bisenzio.

Turning our attention to the earliest inhumation burials at Corneto, it can confidently be asserted that, with scarcely an exception, all that have up to this time come to light are clearly referable to a period when the cremation burials were in a stage of pronounced advancement. Their furniture shows many analogies with that of the *pozzo* tombs excavated in 1882, containing rich deposi-

⁴⁸ N. S. 1888, pp. 180f.

tions of bronze. They resemble the latter especially in the character of the material yielded. As to the relative richness of the depositions, the inhumation burials are, in general, somewhat superior. The earliest of the latter, just as the cremation tombs with the bronzes, yielded no geometric ware or red *impasto* comparable with the latest *pozzi* of Poggio di Selciatello-Sopra.

The excavations of 1880 in the oldest part of the burial area of the Monterozzi produced only a single inhumation grave and it contained the bones of a child. It was destitute of pottery, but yielded a rich assortment of bronze articles intended for adornment of the person, and a disc and two tubes of gold. None of the well tombs brought to light during the course of these excavations contained any of this precious metal. The absence of pottery, the comparative profusion of bronze, and the presence of gold distinguished it immediately from the surrounding cremation tombs ⁴⁹.

It is pertinent to note here the somewhat parallel case of the solitary inhumation burial in the midst of the seventy cremation tombs on the west side of Poggio dell'Impiccato. This burial, too, was distinguished from its neighbours by the possession of the only glass or paste objects in that part of the necropolis ⁵⁰.

Eight inhumation graves with material comparable to the well tombs were uncovered in the area to the south of the more primitive portion of the Monterozzi, during the years 1881-82 ⁵¹. But of these only three appeared to Ghirardini to be certainly intact. In welath of bronze objects these sepulchers were similar to the rich *pozzo* tombs. The terracotta vases were of decidedly minor importance.

⁴⁹ N.S. 1881, p. 362.

⁵⁰ N.S. 1907, p. 75, tomb 35.

⁵¹ N.S. 1882, pp. 192f.

It was in the number of small articles, such as jewelry, that the eight inhumation burials differed especially from their neighbors of the other rite. Among the well tombs only five or six yielded insignificant pieces of gold; three, glass beads; one, a scarab, and one, an idol⁵². On the other hand the three intact inhumation burials together yielded the fragments of a leaf, two rings, and a fibula of gold, and a tube and three discs plated with the same metal. In addition they yielded five small objects plated with electrum and four silver rings. Three of the eight inhumation burials were also supplied with glass beads — a high average when the much larger number of well tombs is taken into consideration. Two of the intact inhumation interments had among other furniture no less than six scarabs of vitreous paste. Two of these were recognized as imitations of Egyptian scarabs, while four bore Phoenician or Carthaginian symbols.

Pernier, as we have seen, observed the preponderance of vases showing advanced technique and superior material among the inhumation burials of Poggio dell'Impiccatò.

Taking all of these facts into consideration, it is quite evident that the earliest inhumation interments of Corneto as a class show greater wealth than the well tombs, especially in articles which we are wont to consider as due to commercial relations with the East. On the other hand, what may be termed native elements of the Villanova culture are in them comparatively insignificant.

A guttus yielded by one of the inhumation tombs referred to above requires particular mention⁵³. Its spout is moulded in imitation of some bovine creature,

⁵² Cf. *N. S.* 1882, p. 203.

⁵³ *N. S.* 1882, p. 192, Pl. XIII bis, Fig. 1.

and it is surmounted by two manikins who appear to be occupied over a table standing between them. It is comparable in form to the guttus found in the *tomba del Guerriero*, but whereas the latter has a painted ornamentation the former is decorated by incision in lines and circles. In style this guttus belongs to the class of rather fantastic vases with moulded animal figures, such as occur at Vetulonia. Although little is definitely known of the origin of this type, Cyprus, as previously stated, seems to be the center of their dispersal. Such vases and the bronzes, gold, and scarabs associated therewith appear to hark back to the period of Phoenician influence prior to the arrival of the first Chalcidian and Corinthian importations.

A consideration of the later tombs *a fossa* of Corneto lies without the scope of this discussion, since they belong to a period when cremation had run its course and the hut urn, consequently, was no longer in use. Nevertheless it might be well to indicate the reasons for the classification into "earlier" and "later" inhumation tombs. This matter has already been adverted to in referring to the graves of Poggio Gallinaro which contained vases of geometric style of the type found in the earliest Greek burials at Cumae. It is this ware which establishes the dividing line between the earlier and later first period. Proto-Corinthian forms, which are never found at Corneto in cremation tombs, make their appearance at this time. In the most recent *fosse* a good quality of bucchero occurs ⁵⁴.

It should be noted that none of the Cornetan burials afford close parallels to the so-called "*ripostigli stranieri*"

⁵⁴ For example of the more recent tombs *a fossa* see *N. S.* 1882, p. 205; 1896, pp. 182-83. The *tomba del Guerriero* is of course the most conspicuous among them.

at Vetulonia. In respect to equipment the *pozzo* tombs, which are rich in bronzes, approach them; so likewise some of the earlier inhumation graves. The burial methods, however, are different. The *ripostigli* too contain a richer assortment of gold and silver jewelry with very few vases of *impasto* of which as many as three or four at a time are found in the Cornetan tombs in question.

There has been reserved for final mention a unique hut urn now in the Museo Preistorico at Rome (List I, No. 55; see Fig. 16) which was disinterred, according to its label, on the Monterozzi at Corneto, but of which no published record has been found. This is one of the handsomest and best preserved of all hut urns. It is of a splendid rich rose colour with a fine polish and belongs to the same class of fabrics as the red *impasto* vases of Poggio dell'Impiccato, Poggio di Selciatello-Sopra, and the necropolis of the Petrina at Narce. This being the case, it is one of the latest specimens of hut urn (no other known ossuary of this type being made of anything except the primitive *impasto*), and can be dated with a considerable degree of probability in the last quarter of the eighth century. .

Summarizing the results of our observations on the Cornetan burials the following conclusions are reached.

1. — The oldest well tombs so far brought to light are situated on Poggio di Selciatello.

(a) This area is without inhumation burials.

(b) It is nearer than either Poggio dell'Impiccato or Poggio di Selciatello-Sopra to both of the sites selected by archaeologists as that of the Etruscan city.

(c) Its pottery consists exclusively of dark native *impasto*.

(d) It yielded no fibulae *a sanguisuga* or *a mignatta* except one formed of amber discs; no bronze helmets nor vases; no arms except a knife.

(e) It yielded both rectangular and lunate razors, glass paste, iron, and a minute quantity of gold.

(f) Its ossuaries were exclusively of the biconical type except one hut urn.

2. — That the burials of Poggio dell'Impiccato and Poggio di Selciatello-Sopra extend over a later period than those in (1) is shown by

(a) the appearance of inhumation burials;

(b) vases of polished red *impasto* and Italo-geometric pottery;

(c) the appearance of true fibulae *a sanguisuga*, bronze helmets and vases, and true arms;

(d) the greater abundance of bronze objects;

(e) tombs *a ziro* with furniture of a more advanced type.

Note: Poggio dell'Impiccato yielded no rectangular razors. No tomb was without at least one bronze fibula.

3. — Both Poggio di Selciatello and what appeared to be the most ancient part of the necropolis of the Monterozzi yielded hut urns of rectangular plan.

4. — The oldest identifiable portion of the Monterozzi yielded a peculiar type of fibula *a sanguisuga*, and bronze helmets decorated *a sbalzo*, but no iron or painted vases.

5. — The earliest inhumation burials are richer in contents than the cremation burials.

6. — Two hut urns of the Monterozzi showed by their contents (and the fact that they were found in the same area) that they belong to the same category as certain other well tombs yielding a wealth of bronze, Egyptian scarabs, but ceramics of native *impasto* only.

7. — The hut urns of Corneto were buried with more than average care, but are not richer in contents than the average well tomb.

8. — The *impasto* ware shows greater affinity to that of Latium than the *impasto* ware of Vetulonia.

9. — The burial methods employed by the cremation folk were on the whole more similar to those of Vetulonia than of Latium.

10. — Tombs *a dolio* of the Latian type were rare and late.

11. — Vases of a finer *impasto* of a reddish color are the first improvement on the coarser dark material. They probably came into use prior to the Italo-geometric ware but sometimes occur with the latter.

12. — These two wares first occur circ. 725 B. C.

13. — The change of burial rite was in progress at about the same date.

14. — Painted geometric ware of the type which occurs in the earliest Greek burials at Cumae appears only after the inhumation rite had become fixed.

15. — The period immediately preceding the introduction of the type of ware referred to in (14) appears to have been one of Cypriot-Phoenician cultural influences.

16. — The topographical evidence derived from the burials favors the location of the primitive settlement on the Piano della Regina.

17. — A hut urn of unknown provenience is of polished red *impasto*. It must therefore be one of the latest specimens of its kind.

V. — HUT URN BURIALS OF BISENZIO

THE modern village of Bisenzio, which is situated on the north-western shore of the lake of Bolsena between Capodimonte and Gradoli, is supposed to occupy the site of the Etruscan city of Visentium¹. The identification rests principally upon the similarity of the ancient and modern names and the presence of an ancient necropolis. There are no traces of construction at or near Bisenzio more ancient than Roman times.

The area in the vicinity of Bisenzio covered with pre-Etruscan and later burials is of very considerable extent. It stretches with interruptions for a distance of about five and one-half kilometers, from the neighborhood of the before-mentioned village to near the castle of Capodimonte. The numerous tombs here brought to light bear witness to the presence of an important center of population in early times. It is not at all certain, however, that all parts of this extensive burial area should be referred to one inhabited center. It may very well be that other settlements than the one at Visentium existed here in prehistoric times, and that they possessed and used part of the region now covered with tombs².

It will be convenient to summarize the types of burial and the shapes of the ossuaries employed for the entire

¹ The only ancient author that refers to Visentium is Pliny. Cf. *N.H.* III, 8. The best summary of the finds is in Von Duhn, I, pp. 329ff.

² See map *N.S.* 1886, Tav. II, Fig. 2.

vicinity of Bisenzio, since one part differs but slightly in these respects from another.

The *pozzetti* were almost always found to be covered by a rudely rounded though otherwise unworked slab of *peperino*, *nerfro*, or tufa. Occasionally the stone showed no marks of shaping whatever, but was completely in the rough. Sometimes the cover rested on an artificial ledge in the soil formed by the approach of the sides of the *pozzo* at the top.

In addition to the cover the deposition was protected either by a wall of stones about the inside of the pit, or by being placed in a cylindrical or hemispherical recipient of tufa. Some of these stone cases had very nicely adjusted parts. Rarely was the ossuary without one or the other of these two modes of protection. A few in fact were found with both. The number of burials *a dolio* was very small.

As will be seen from the above description, the burial methods employed at Bisenzio show an interesting fusion of those of the Umbrian and Latian populations. The stone cover is common to both Latium and Etruria. The stone lining of the *pozzo* is rare at Vetulonia and Corneto, while it is of ordinary occurrence at Bisenzio and in Latium. The stone recipients, on the other hand, seem to be unknown both in Latium and at Vetulonia, while they are common at Corneto. The *dolium* moreover, as we have seen, is of exceptional occurrence at Corneto; is probably unknown at Vetulonia; and, as it is rare at Bisenzio, it seems to be proper to the people south of the Tiber.

If Bisenzio with its stone lined *pozzetti* appears to be closer to the burial methods of Latium than either Vetulonia or Corneto, much more does this seem to be true when we come to examine the types of ossuaries. At

Bisenzio urns of the Villanova type are entirely exceptional, and most of those that have been found are of a modified form. The usual cinerary urn in this region is of a spherical or ovoid shape designated by the Italian archaeologists as an *olla* or *pentola*. These are forms that occur not infrequently in the Alban Hills. Of hut urns I have found records to the number of fourteen.

The necropolis of Bisenzio — using the word in its comprehensive sense — falls into four distinct parts which will be treated separately³. They are Palazzetta and Poggio la Mina, the plain of San Bernardino, the locality known as la Polledrara, and the plain of Porto Madonna.

1. — PALAZZETTA AND POGGIO LA MINA⁴.

This part of the ancient necropolis lies west and north-west of the hill of Bisenzio and in close proximity thereto. It was the first place to be systematically excavated, but accurate notes were not taken at the time, the material of the various burials was confused, and the reports of the excavations are conflicting. For these reasons and because we possess records of no hut urns found in this locality our description will be brief⁵.

It appears certain from the accounts of the excavations written by Pasqui and Helbig, and from Milani's observations⁶ that the tombs of Palazzetta lay in three planes.

³ There is a brief general account of the necropolis of Bisenzio with bibliography by Quagliati in *B. P.* 1895, pp. 166f.

⁴ *N. S.* 1886, p. 143; 1894, p. 137. *R. M.* 1886, pp. 18f.

⁵ Milani refers to the discovery of hut urns during the course of these excavations (*N. S.* 1894, p. 123). I have been unable to discover anything concerning them, or to identify any of the urns in the museums with this site.

⁶ *N. S.* 1886, p. 144; *R. M.* 1886, p. 20; *N. S.* 1894, p. 123.

In the lowest plane cremation burials *a pozzo* and inhumation burials *a fossa* were intermingled. The second plane consisted entirely of inhumation burials. The surface stratum also yielded mostly inhumation burials and a few tombs *a buco* of a type fairly common at Corneto. In the uppermost plane both kinds of graves contained Attic black-figured vases but, as it appears, none with red figures.

Helbig makes the statement that all the tombs were unearthed in a space of eighty square meters⁷. Pasqui, on the other hand, speaks of excavation at a distance of about two hundred meters from the spot where first they dug⁸. Neither was present; and both were constrained to write up reports to a considerable extent from oral testimony.

Of forty tombs brought to light Pasqui was able to describe six and their contents with a reasonable degree of certainty. Four of these were of the cremation and two of the inhumation rite.

Three of the cremation tombs afforded little worthy of particular mention. They were all walled with stones in the Latian style. One of the ossuaries was of the Villanova type, while the others were *pentole*. One contained no bronze, while the two others yielded a small amount including a lunate razor. The depositions included seven, four, and eight accessory vases respectively. Even the latter is not a large number for Bisenzio, as we shall observe in the sequel.

The fourth cremation tomb is important. It illustrates at the start a peculiarity of this region, i. e. the existence of a relatively large number of late cremation bur-

⁷ R. M. 1886, p. 18.

⁸ N. S. 1886, p. 144.

ials. The ossuary of this particular interment was of the form *a testa di papavero* of yellowish clay painted in red bands and triangles⁹. It contained an accessory vase of identical type also painted in geometric style, an oenochœ of bucchero, objects of bronze, amber and iron, a disc of electrum, and seven vases of *impasto* ware.

The location of the above tomb in respect to the three previously mentioned containing the poorer furniture is not given.

The two inhumation burials described by Pasqui are without value for our investigations, since the *stratum* in which one was found is not indicated, while the other was near the ground-level and contained Attic vases.

2. — THE PLAIN OF SAN BERNARDINO¹⁰.

Our information concerning the necropolis of San Bernardino contrasts completely with that of the section just described. Here the records are as full and satisfactory as there they were meager and conflicting.

Each burial of San Bernardino is numbered and separately described and there are no omissions. There is also a map published with Pasqui's report, showing the exact location of all the tombs in respect to one another; and they are so pictured that at a glance one can observe their relative sizes, their condition of preservation, and the very shapes of their stone covers. This manner of publishing excavations in burial areas cannot be too highly recommended. I am acquainted with no map superior to this, although it was published thirty-six years ago. In the matter of illustrations, it must

⁹ Cf. with the vase from Corneto (N. S. 1885, Tav. XIV, Fig. 6).

¹⁰ N. S. 1886, pp. 177f. Tavs. II and III.

be confessed, much is left to be desired. Only one plate containing fifteen figures is devoted to the considerable quantity of material yielded by this necropolis. Fourteen of the figures are of pottery forms. The metal objects are completely omitted.

In another respect the burial area of San Bernardino is of peculiar value to us. It is a unit complete in itself. Since it lies apart from all other burials, and since it is probable that few tombs have escaped the scrutiny of the excavators, it is possible to obtain an accurate conception of its history.

The plain of San Bernardino lies about eight hundred meters to the south-east of Bisenzio and very near the shore of the lake. It is a rectangular plateau with evident signs of artificial leveling inclosed by higher ground. The tombs cease to appear where the higher and more rocky soil begins. In one corner of this area apart from the tombs stood a semicircular wall formed of thick blocks of *nenfro*. The space within this wall was raised about a meter above the plain and was strewn with pieces of carbonized wood and fragments of stone showing evident traces of fire. It would seem that this was the pyre upon which the corpses were cremated. Between the wall and the tombs was discovered a square ditch measuring 1.7 m. on each side and 1.75 m. in depth. It was perfectly oriented and filled partly with ashes mingled with some fragments of bone and pieces of bronze and terracotta. It was in this hole, evidently, that remains of the funeral pyre were placed. No such débris was found strewn about the ossuaries and stone recipients, contrary to the practice observed in other cemeteries ¹¹. It was usual, for instance, at Vetulonia to find the cinerary

¹¹ *N.S.* 1886, p. 191, No. 44 and *passim*.

urn imbedded in a stratum of carbonized wood and ashes. This having been observed the theory was once advanced that the bodies were cremated on the spot where the depositions were made.

During the course of the excavations a broken stele of tufa with the upper end fashioned in imitation of a cabin roof was unearthed. It was surrounded by a rude wall of stone chips. The stele was quite unlike those found at Corneto and bears a close resemblance to a familiar type of modern tombstone ¹².

The interments of the necropolis of San Bernardino numbered ninety-three, of which fifty-three were of the cremation rite and the remaining inhumation ¹³. They were promiscuously intermingled.

No topographical development of burials in this area is in evidence. The number of interments and the space covered by them is small. It appears that all parts of the terrain were subject to funeral use at the same time.

The necropolis of San Bernardino yielded seven hut urns, five of which were grouped in fairly close proximity at the northern end of the plateau, while the others were not far from the southern extremity nearer the circular wall. They were all therefore on the periphery of the burial area. Four of these urns were found in a very good state of preservation, while three of them were shattered. In view of the statement made respecting the care with which this type of ossuary was guarded at Corneto, it should be noted that all seven hut urns in the necropolis of San Bernardino were protected by tufa cy-

¹² N. S. 1886, Tav. III, Fig. 12; p. 188.

¹³ There are included in this number one inhumation and two cremation burials noted under tombs 41, 45, and 71 which were not included in Pasqui's list.

linders. Two of the pits were in addition walled internally with pieces of stone.

Turning to the examination of the furniture in the cremation burials one is immediately impressed by its profusion. Although the amount of pottery varied greatly in individual interments, several contained an extraordinary number of pieces. The duplication of forms was a noteworthy feature. Rude miniature goblets (so-called "cylices") were especially abundant. Of tombs with ordinary ossuaries three may be selected as exceptionally well supplied with vases. Tomb 31 yielded seven, and tomb 47 twelve vases, besides six and two goblets respectively. Tomb 1 on the other hand was without goblets but contained eleven vases as follows: one of Villanova type; two *a barchetta*; one ovoid; one lenticular; one askos; one spherical; a species of amphora; two cups; a tripod. Three hut urns, however, were richer in this respect than any of the other burials: tomb 5 yielded eleven vases of various forms together with eight goblets; tomb 84 fifteen vases and again, as in tomb 1, no goblets; tomb 85 ten vases besides no less than fifteen goblets.

The forms of the *impasto* pottery of San Bernardino, in spite of their duplication, are multifarious. General types, some of which were mentioned in connection with tomb 1 above, are all that can be dealt with here. An inquiry into the gradations of type would be useless without the aid of illustrations. Of very common occurrence are the flat bowls with in-curving rims (*ciotole* and *ciotolette*) which are found in large numbers throughout Etruria. A variety of this bowl is ordinarily used as the cover of biconical ossuaries. Other types that recur with frequency are ovoid, spherical, and lenticular vases, cups and amphorae, showing many variations. All

of these in one form or another are so widely distributed both in time and space that they are almost valueless for comparative purposes except after the minutest study. On the other hand there are certain types of ceramics in less general use and with more pronounced characteristics which lend themselves more readily to classification. Those types of vases will first be mentioned which are more common to Etruria than to Latium; secondly, those which are more common to Latium than to Etruria.

Of the types most frequently met in Etruria and so rare in Latium that they may be called peculiar to the former region, the oenochoë perhaps holds the first place on the plain of San Bernardino. This, as has been demonstrated, is the vase of most common occurrence at Vetulonia. The variety with trilobate mouth is found on both sites. In the early cremation graves of Latium and at Corneto they seem to be entirely lacking.

Another type not infrequently found in the area now under consideration is the askos upon short legs with spout moulded in the semblance of the head of ox, goat, or ass. Corneto has furnished a few pieces of this kind. At Vetulonia vases of this same style were produced, though the shape of the vessel itself is usually dissimilar to those of San Bernardino. In Latium, on the contrary, neither aski nor other types of vase ever show an attempt to imitate animal forms (the human form not included).

Of those types of pottery which are of very ordinary occurrence to the south of the Tiber and are likewise found in the San Bernardino necropolis four may be mentioned: the small biconical jar reproducing the form of the Villanova cinerary urn; the boat-shaped vase (*lucerna a barchetta*); the cup with high ribbon handle referred to by Pasqui as of "Latian type"; and the double-handled cup.

The second of the vase types mentioned above usually has a small protuberance in the center by which it may be held. It also frequently stands upon four short legs. Some of the San Bernardino examples differ from the Latian in having the head of a goose or some animal at the prow and stern in the guise of figure-heads. These *barchette* are of extremely rare occurrence in the two other Etruscan sites we have examined. At Bisenzio, however, they are quite common; two specimens are sometimes found in a single grave.

The miniature goblets, misleadingly termed "cylices", are very exceptional at Rome and Corneto. On the other hand we have already seen that at Bisenzio they underwent, in point of number, an extraordinary development.

Leaving unconsidered ceramics of simpler type such as may well be an inheritance of neolithic times, the characteristic forms, therefore, of the necropolis of San Bernardino are a strange medley of what appears to be proper to the region south of the Tiber and of what appears to be proper to the region north of it. We have already witnessed this phenomenon at Corneto and to an almost negligible extent at Vetulonia, but nowhere in so pronounced a manner as at Bisenzio. This fact leads one to suspect that the latter place forms a link in some way between the Latian and the Umbrian cultures.

A few rare or unique vase-types should perhaps be mentioned here for the sake of greater completeness. Among the furniture of a few well tombs of San Bernardino were shallow basins of miniature size, with and without handles, standing on legs. Closely related to these are miniature three-legged tables, or tripods. An object of the latter type, it will be recalled, was yielded by the Forum sepulcretum. One cylindrical object with a hole in

one end was found which might have represented a funnel. Another peculiar vase, shaped somewhat like an hour-glass, had three handles running from top to bottom, upon one of which was inserted a ring of terracotta.

It should be made clear that the forms mentioned above include only objects made of primitive *impasto* from cremation graves. Forms in more advanced material and those found in inhumation burials have been left out of consideration.

Of the decoration it is not necessary to speak, since where it occurs, it shows the usual impressed or scratched geometrical pattern which is so characteristic of the early Iron Age.

Besides the ordinary *impasto* ware, however, three of the fifty odd cremation tombs contained two vases each of improved material and technique. Tombs 48 and 51 yielded ollae of yellow *impasto* covered with a red coat. Tomb 14 yielded oenochoe of yellow *impasto* with very thin walls, and they were apparently wheel-turned. In addition, two other tombs (31 and 54) yielded each a vase of red *impasto* (or clay?) described as being very roughly and carelessly fashioned; and tomb 7 contained a wheel-turned oenochœ of reddish earth.

It is in the inventory of the smaller objects of the funeral furniture, as almost invariably, that the most dependable evidence is forthcoming of the posteriority of the early cremation tombs of Etruria to those of Latium.

The *pozzi* of San Bernardino yielded rings, fibulae, and lance points of iron. Four tombs contained glass beads. Several contained fibulae *a mignatta*. One yielded a badly corroded silver chain; one a minute quantity of gold. Besides the above, seven razors were found, all of lunate type, and a number of bronze lance points.

Of the two last named objects some were of full size, while others were so small that, as those of Latium, they must be regarded as symbolical.

Articles of laminated bronze were found in greater abundance than in the Roman and Alban cremation tombs. They were all, however, of restricted size and consisted of a couple of miniature tripods (one on iron legs), lance caps, discs, bracelets. The two discs of largest size were thought to be vase covers. One measured .037 m. in diameter; the dimension of the other is not given, although it is stated that it is smaller than a similar object in an inhumation grave.

It remains to consider the inhumation burials of the plain of San Bernardino.

The body was laid in a stone case, the dimensions of which varied considerably according to the age or size of the occupant. The cover of the case sloped away on each side from the center line, and at either end, in most instances, it was also cut away from the perpendicular. The shape resulting was that of a rectangular roof with ridge-pole shorter than the length of the roof.

In several of the sarcophagi there was evidence that the corpse had been placed on a wooden table or in a box of wood before being buried. Bars of iron which at first had been taken for andirons were found together with fragments of decayed wood. The former perhaps served as supports or handles by which the wooden bier was carried and lowered into the stone case ¹⁴.

The sarcophagi contained *impasto* vases of primitive form and technique on a par with those yielded by the cremation tombs. There was a great disparity, however, in their number. As in the case of the earliest inhumation

¹⁴ Cf. N. S. 1886, tombs 4, 37, 58.

tion burials at Corneto, the *impasto* ware was generally of quite minor importance.

Whereas only six cremation burials yielded vases having any claim to improved material and technique, thirteen sarcophagi contained pottery of the same class as these exceptional cremation interments. Some of the pieces were very similar to the red ware of Corneto; others were of fine yellow clay. An aryballus is mentioned among the forms. The use of the wheel was common.

The cremation tombs contained no painted vases. Two cups and an oenochœ ornamented with red lines were among the material of the inhumation burials.

Iron and bronze arms, glass, and fibulae *a navicella*, *a mignatta* and *a sanguisuga* were found, of course, in the furniture of the sarcophagi. Four of the latter contained silver jewelry, and one an amber scarab.

The inhumation tombs were without lunate razors.

One important difference in the equipment of the cremation and inhumation tombs consisted in the number of vessels of laminated bronze in the latter. Seven sarcophagi contained cups, oenochœ, and bowls of this substance. Tomb 3 contained three pieces of it.

The most important distinction between the contents in general of the burials following the two different rites involved the presence or absence of bucchero. Of the thirty intact inhumation graves just a third contained vases of this material. None was found in any of the cremation tombs.

If any further evidence is needed of the more recent date of the rite of inhumation in the necropolis of San Bernardino it is to be found in the intersecting of burials. Twelve inhumation graves were either superposed upon, or caused damage to, eleven cremation tombs. There is nothing, on the contrary, to show that a single crema-

tion burial took place later than a burial of the other rite ¹⁵.

Of course it cannot be affirmed with absolute certainty that all the inhumation tombs in the area under consideration are later than each and all of the cremation tombs. That this is true of by far the greater number of them, however, there can be no doubt. Thirteen sarcophagi of the thirty found to be intact contained no bucchero, painted ware, nor vessels of laminated bronze. In so far then as can be judged from the character of the funeral equipment, these thirteen graves may be contemporary with the cremation tombs. This number, however, can be reduced to ten because three of the thirteen damaged cremation interments. Of the ten one contained no pottery whatever; therefore its age is uncertain. One also contained the unique amber scarab. Four, moreover, were of children. The four remaining all contained red ware and other pottery of improved technique such as was yielded by only a few cremation tombs ¹⁶.

Considering the fact that all inhumation interments were made in the same manner, i. e. in a stone case, and that all the stone cases followed the same pattern except

¹⁵ Gsell, *Fouilles de Vulci*, p. 313, note I. In this note Gsell refers to a cremation tomb in the San Bernardino group (No. 7) as "certainly posterior to two neighbouring sarcophagi". He has apparently been misled by the ambiguity of the language in the report of this burial. By referring to the diagram at the back of the Notizie (1886) the true state of these burials may be seen and his error corrected.

¹⁶ Inhumation graves damaging cremation tombs: 41, 60, 74. Grave without pottery: 58; with amber scarab: 34. Burials of children: 9, 50, 59, 67. The four remaining burials: 16, 19, 22, 37. It will be noted that all the latter are on one side of the cemetery near the wall. Tombs containing bucchero are especially concentrated at the opposite end of the area.

for simple variations in the sloping of the lids, it would seem that all these burials belong to the same period and that this period was posterior to the laying of the *pozzo* tombs.

Reference has previously been made to the extraordinary amount of pottery in certain of the hut urn depositions. Bronze articles, on the other hand, were not very abundant in them. They consisted of a total of seven fibulae (four of which were yielded by a single urn)¹⁷, a necklace of tiny rings, two discs or amulets, a small lance point with cap, and two bracelets of twisted wire. None of the fibulae were of advanced type, i. e. *a sanguisuga*, *a mignatta*, or *a navicella*. Were it not for the lance point, and for white and blue beads of vitreous paste in one of the urns, the contents of these ossuaries as a class could scarcely be differentiated from those unearthed in the Roman Forum.

3. — LA POLLEDRARA¹⁸.

Later in the same year in which the important excavations on the plain of San Bernardino were made, Pasqui turned his attention to a district about eight hundred meters to the south of the above plain, a region locally known as la Polledrara. This had been recognized as a necropolis from chance discoveries in preceding years. Pasqui here brought to light twenty-eight *pozzetti* of the ordinary type with cinerary urns containing the ashes of the corpse, and six stone sarcophagi of the same kind as those found in the San Bernardino group. There is no map for

¹⁷ Tomb 84, p. 202.

¹⁸ *N.S.* 1886, p. 290; 1892, p. 405. Cf. also notice in *B.P.* 1894, p. 188. The Museo Preistorico at Rome originally possessed the material of thirteen tombs of la Polledrara.

these excavations and no reported instance of the intersecting of burials.

Two of the ossuaries were hut urns (List I, Nos. 58, 59; for No. 58 see Fig. 18), one of which was contained in a cylindrical recipient and the other protected against the weight of the earth by a rude wall of stones.

The material yielded by the cremation burials of la Polledrara was very similar to that of San Bernardino although on the whole noticeably richer. The tombs here contained more iron weapons, fibulae of later type, and beads of vitreous paste. Articles deserving particular mention were an iron knife with a bone or ivory handle (tomb 3); silver earrings (tomb 4); a miniature oval table of laminated bronze, an iron sword in a sheath of laminated bronze, and *aes rude* (?) (tomb 5).

It was in painted vases that the greatest advancement was shown over the cremation tombs of San Bernardino. Four *pozzetti* yielded pottery painted in geometric style, while a fifth contained an askos of dark *impasto* covered with a thick coating of yellow ochre¹⁹. There was no sign of true color decoration on any of the ceramics of the same rite at San Bernardino. A few pieces decorated *a graffito* with the impression filled with coloured earth occurred, but this type of ornamentation is found on some of the primitive Latian pottery and even earlier.

Two of the painted vases of the cremation burials of la Polledrara were of the type called aski. One of them was 41 cm. in length and in imitation of a duck. It was decorated with red bands and geometric figures. The other also represented some sort of winged creature. It was covered with a dark red slip adorned with yellow lines and triangles. Another vase is described as a cup paint-

¹⁹ N. S. 1886, tombs 5, 16, 20, 9, and 26.

ed with parallel red bands. The fourth was a native form — a miniature Villanova urn of yellowish clay decorated with red triangles.

Some of the *pozzi* of la Polledrara were destitute of advanced material, but even they were usually well supplied with ordinary *impasto* ware. The furniture of one of the hut urns (List I, No. 59) was especially poor, consisting of nothing but four *impasto* vases. Five other tombs yielded only ceramics, and they were always of the same primitive material ²⁰. Some of these, however, were badly dilapidated and it is quite possible that smaller objects had been extracted at a previous time, or were overlooked at the time the excavations were made.

The second hut urn burial (List I, No. 58; see Fig. 18) contained three *impasto* vases, two beads of vitreous paste and other accessories to a necklace, and five bronze fibulae. All of the latter were variations of the type *ad arco semplice*.

Two of the inhumation tombs were not distinguishable in their contents from average cremation tombs. They contained vases of *impasto*, fibulae of advanced type etc., but no painted ware ²¹. A third contained an unusual number of articles but all of a kind found in the *pozzetti*: fourteen *impasto* vases, four objects of bronze used to adorn the person, and an iron knife ²².

The other three tombs, however, all yielded some objects not found in this necropolis in cremation burials. The furniture of one consisted of six ordinary vases, one vase painted in the geometric style, amber, an iron knife, silver earrings, a fine situla and another vessel of laminated bronze ²³. Another very rich sarcophagus yielded six

²⁰ Tombs 11, 15, 17, 25 and 32.

²¹ Tombs 6 and 14.

²² Tomb 1.

²³ Tomb 2.

fibulae of advanced type, a painted spherical vase, three rings, two bracelets, earrings and a fibula all of silver, and three vessels of laminated bronze ²⁴. The third contained, among other objects, a painted olla and an oenochœ of bucchero. This was the only piece of bucchero found in the course of these excavations.

The last inhumation burial mentioned also yielded a lunate razor which seems to be unique in tombs of this rite at Bisenzio ²⁵.

4. — THE PLAIN OF PORTO MADONNA ²⁶.

The plain of Porto Madonna lies in the district la Polledrara, and is a more precise definition for a certain group of burials which lies apart from those we have just finished describing. In strictness the tombs to be considered under this section are as much tombs of the district la Polledrara, as those described in section three, which lack a more specific name.

The present group is situated at a distance of about four hundred meters from the necropolis of San Bernadino in closer proximity to the highway past Bisenzio to Capodimonte.

The excavations on the plain of Porto Madonna were carried out on private account under the direction of the same proprietor as the excavations of Palazzetta. The late Professor Milani of the Museo Archeologico of Florence visited the locality and trial excavations were

²⁴ Tomb 7.

²⁵ Tomb 13.

²⁶ *N. S.* 1894, p. 123. Previous notice of these excavations was given in *N. S.* 1892, p. 405. The Museo Archeologico at Florence originally possessed the material of thirteen tombs of Porto Madonna. Cf. *N. S.* 1894, p. 124.

made in his presence. The only reliable information we possess of this burial area is Milani's description of the material of thirteen cremation tombs acquired for the above mentioned museum. These tombs are only a part of a larger number of which we know nothing.

According to the opinion of Milani formed from observations made and information acquired on the spot, "the sepulcretum of Porto Madonna corresponds in character to the preceding sepulcreta except that here the *pozzetti* never appeared to alternate with inhumation burials, and they were found on the same level very close to one another at the depth of about a meter below the surface of the soil". The furniture and ossuaries were found constantly protected by hemispherical or cylindrical recipients of tufa.

Five of the thirteen burials selected by Milani to exhibit in the museum at Florence consisted of hut urns and their furniture ²⁷.

These five tombs yielded a moderate number of *impasto* vases varying from six to ten in each tomb ²⁸. They were remarkable for the number of *barchette*. Two of the tombs contained two each of these interesting forms. A cup with *ansa cornuta* and one with double handle were among the furniture. Another cup was decorated with bronze studs. The most interesting object of terracotta was a little two-wheeled cart resembling closely the small, red, wooden carts with which infants play.

²⁷ Cf. List I, Nos. 61-64; 63 = Fig. 19 and 64 = Fig. 20 in the present volume. N.S. 1894, p. 135-tomb 11.

²⁸ In the list of pottery of tomb 5 Milani mentions "a cup *a pignatta* of the ordinary *bucchero*". This vase was examined by me at Florence and it appears that the word "*bucchero*" was intended to read "*impasto*". *Bucchero* is by no means "ordinary" in these burials.

The bronze objects contributing to the depositions in the hut urn burials were few and insignificant. Two of the tombs contained nothing but pottery. The three others yielded a fibula with simple bow, one with incurving ribbon bow, and a couple *ad arco serpeggiante*. Besides the fibulae there were a symbolical lance and a few bell-shaped pendants of wire.

The hut urn burials contained no iron, glass, or precious metals.

Turning to the eight cremation burials with ossuaries of more ordinary type, we find that several of them contained more advanced material than the primitive furniture in the tombs with the hut urns. Tomb 3, for instance, yielded amber and glass beads *a filigrana*, a fibula *a sanguisuga*, a gold-plated disc (*bulla*), and fourteen pieces of pottery. Tomb 4 also contained a fibula *a sanguisuga*, an askos with ox-head spout, and several vases (including two double-handled cups) decorated with an incised geometric pattern filled with white ochre. Tomb 6, with an ossuary of Villanova type, was distinguished in the possession of a symbolical lunate razor of iron, and a symbolical lance point of the same material. It also contained a small amphora of fine bucchero. Tomb 7 together with many *impasto* vases yielded some fairly good gray-black bucchero. The ossuary of tomb 9 was of the Villanova type and fashioned from the improved red *impasto*. Tomb 13 contained black bucchero and a symbolical lance point and razor of bronze. The other two tombs (8 and 10), on the other hand, yielded nothing by which they might be distinguished from the most ancient burials.

Among the *impasto* pottery of tomb 8 should be mentioned an ovoid vase with reticulate relief of very rough make. This is another reminiscence of Latium, where

these forms are very common. In Etruria, on the other hand, they are exceedingly rare.

It is possible to divide the tombs of Porto Madonna with which we are acquainted by Milani's description into an earlier and a later period. The earlier, to which belong all five hut urns and tombs 8 and 10 above, contained nothing except material of the most primitive stamp. The other tombs, on the contrary, all contained some later material and a few are certainly not earlier than the end of the eighth century, since they yielded bucchero. The close correspondence of the furniture of all the hut urns lends weight to such a chronological division.

Summarizing the observations made in regard to the four burial areas of Bisenzio the following points appear.

1. — The lower stratum of burials at Palazzetta consisted of cremation and inhumation graves intermingled, while the two upper strata consisted of inhumation graves only. The surface burials were not earlier than the middle of the sixth century.

2. — A cremation burial at Palazzetta contained an ossuary in the form *a testa di papavero* painted in the geometric style, and bucchero.

3. — Hut urn depositions of Bisenzio were protected with more than average care.

4. — Some hut urn depositions were unusually rich in the number of accessory vases of native form and *impasto*.

5. — Two hut urns contained glass beads; one contained a lance point with cap.

6. — The cremation burials were in general distinguished by a profusion of native pottery.

7. — Oenochorae, aski, *barchette*, goblets, small vases of biconical form, and cups (including the double-handled variety), were relatively abundant.

8. — The cremation tombs of San Bernardino yielded iron, glass, silver, gold, fibulae *a mignatta*, razors of lunate type only, and vases of good yellow clay and red *impasto*.

9. — The inhumation tombs of San Bernardino yielded all the material named in (8) except gold and lunate razors. In addition they yielded vessels of laminated bronze, painted geometric ware, and bucchero.

10. — The evidence that the inhumation burials of San Bernardino are in general later than the cremation depends upon the following :

(a) Disparity of the material named in (8) and (9).

(b) Greater abundance of the material named in (8) in inhumation graves (excepting gold and lunate razors).

(c) Intersection of *pozzetti* by the sarcophagi.

11. — The fact that all inhumation interments of San Bernardino were made in sarcophagi of almost uniform type is evidence of their virtual contemporaneity.

12. — The inhumation burials of San Bernardino contained less *impasto* ware than the cremation.

13. — Four cremation tombs out of twenty-eight in the necropolis of la Polledrara contained vases painted in the geometric style.

14. — Three of the six inhumation graves of la Polledrara contained vessels of laminated bronze or bucchero. No objects of this description were extracted from cremation tombs at la Polledrara.

15. — Only one inhumation grave at Bisenzio is known to have contained a lunate razor.

16. — At Porto Madonna there was an exclusively cremation area.

17. — The five hut urns of Porto Madonna yielded no advanced material.

18. — Other burials at Porto Madonna yielded bucchero.

19. — The cremation burials of Bisenzio show close parallels to those of Latium in the following respects :

- (a) The stone linings of many *pozzetti*.
- (b) The type of ossuary. (At Bisenzio the Villanova urn was little used).
- (c) The abundance of accessory vases of *impasto*.
- (d) The forms of vases : miniature jars of biconical shape, vases *a barchetta*, cups of Latial type, an ovoid jar with reticulate relief.
- (e) The use of symbolical lance points and razors for funeral furniture.

20. — On the other hand the cremation burials differ from those of Latium and approach *pro tanto* the ordinary burials of Etruria in the following respects :

- (a) The rarity of use of the *dolium* and great frequency of use of stone recipients for the deposition.
 - (b) The forms of vases : oenochoë, askos with moulded animal forms.
 - (c) The use of the lunate rather than the rectangular razor.
 - (d) The use of iron, beads of glass paste, silver, improved red ware, painted geometric vases, and bucchero (very rarely).
 - (e) The greater number of small objects of laminated bronze, and vases of potter's clay.
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VI. — HUT URN BURIALS ON MONTE SANT'ANGELO AT VEII, AND AT ALLUMIERE

IT will be convenient to treat under one head the three above named necropolises. None of them compare in importance for the present investigation with the great burial areas of Vetulonia, Corneto, and Bisenzio. On Monte Sant'Angelo a fragment of a single hut urn was unearthed. The burial area at this site has been exceptionally well examined and published, but the interments brought to light are very few. At Veii an entire hut urn was found in a fair state of preservation. The necropolis itself is vast. The early burials, on the other hand, have never been satisfactorily described. Our information concerning them exists merely in the form of notes. At Allumiere a fragment was found which was supposed to belong to a hut urn, but this is not certain. The area from which it was taken was strewn with countless potsherds. It yielded, however, not a single vase that could be restored.

1. — MONTE SANT'ANGELO ¹.

Monte Sant'Angelo, the highest point in the valley of the Treia in which were situated the ancient cities of Falerii and Narce, lies to the east of the Lago di Bracciano

¹ *M. A.* IV, Col. 33f. (1894); *Atlante*, or illustrated supplement to the above volume (1895).

between the little lake of Martignano and the valley of Baccano. Careful investigations conducted on the summit of this hill by Cozza and Pasqui showed that it was once occupied by a settlement antedating the foundation of Narce in the lower Treia valley. The necropolis corresponding to the settlement consisted of four separate areas each covering a small nameless hill near the foot of the mountain south of the summit. Excepting some tombs of the Roman era neither trench tombs nor chamber tombs were found on these hills. All were tombs *a pozzo* with cinerary urns reproducing both in the *impasto* and in their shape the urn of Villanova type ².

Unfortunately the well tombs were constructed at so slight a depth that they were almost totally destroyed by agricultural operations in later times.

On the little hill farthest from the settlement on the summit of Monte Sant'Angelo four tombs only were brought to light which were sufficiently well preserved to be described. Others were found in such a state of dilapidation that the fragments of vases they contained were not worth collecting. Of the four more or less intact tombs the cinerary urn of one was contained in a tufa recipient. Two of the others were in simple *pozzi* probably originally covered by stone slabs. The burial method observed in the fourth is not recorded. Except the ossuaries of Villanova form with their covers no objects of terracotta are mentioned as contained within the tombs. The recognizable furniture consisted entirely of fibulae and the fragment of a lunate razor. One of the fibulae was of gold. Another of bronze was its counterpart. Two others were of the simple bow type but rather ornate in the manner in which the bow was fashioned. A

² Cf. *M. A.* IV, Col. 73f.

fifth and a sixth fibula had their bows covered with copper discs increasing in size toward the centre of the arc.

On the second hill nothing was found worthy of special description.

Three tombs with their contents are published for the third hill. The ossuary of one was contained in a cylindrical cavity walled and floored with pieces of stone. Another was protected by half-walls of the same sort constructed in the less resistant earth about the top of the deposition. The third seems to have been placed in a simple *pozzo*. There were no supplementary funeral articles.

On the sides of the above hill many fragments of cinerary urns, small vases, and pieces of large *dolia* were found. Among the débris was discovered the fragment of the hut urn referred to. It was of dark *impasto*, rough technique, and belonged to a door-jamb.

The fourth hill — the one nearest the ancient settlement — “which was perhaps the most extensive of the burial areas”, showed signs of tombs everywhere. One only was found in a fair enough state of preservation to be described. The cinerary urn was placed on a bed of stones which filled the bottom of a rectangular trench. The upper part of the ossuary had been carried away by the plow and only its base remained in place.

2. — VEII³.

Since we possess only advance notices, and a short summary taken from the notes of the late Dr. Colini, of the extensive excavations carried on in this very im-

³ N.S. 1913, p. 164; 1919, p. 3.

portant necropolis, it is impossible to give here more than a few general observations derived from the published notices and from an examination of some of the material itself now on exhibition in the Museum of the Villa Giulia at Rome. It is to be hoped that a more circumstantial account of the early burials in the vicinity of Veii will soon be forthcoming, since they bid fair to throw a great deal of light on these primitive times.

First of all it should be observed that at Veii, as at all other sites we have examined, the cremation tombs are not confined to one spot, but are found in several separated localities. In a region covered with small hills called the Grotto Granniccia, in the zone of the Casale del Fosso, and at Macchia della Comunità well tombs were brought to light.

At Veii, too, as elsewhere in Etruria, the transition from the cremation to the inhumation rite was evident. The development from more ancient to later *pozzetti* was traceable. The latter, in turn, were in touch with the most ancient *fosse*, and toward the outskirts of the area *fosse* alone were found ⁴.

The region of the Grotto Granniccia seems to have been the most prolific in well tombs. On the highest part of a certain unnamed hill in this locality, and in an area of a few square meters in extent, a considerable group of these burials was unearthed. One was close beside another, and in some cases the crowding was so great that a later tomb had cut into an earlier one. The ossuaries were of the Villanova type. They rested either in the bare *pozzi*, sometimes upon a flat stone, or stones were placed about them to form sides and top. Tufa recipients were also found. Their furniture is described

⁴ See Gabrici's statement in *N.S.* 1913, p. 166.

as consisting of one or more fibulae, of razors, and of a few beads of vitreous paste and amber. The fibulae were almost always of the type with enlarged striated arc (*ad arco striato e ingrossato*) and large engraved disc. Other fibulae were of the class *ad arco serpeggiante*. The razors were very rare and of the lunate type. As at Vetulonia and on Monte Sant'Angelo, and contrasting completely with the earliest burials in Latium and at Bisenzio, supplementary vases were few in number.

Further down on the slopes of the hills in the region of the Grotta Granniccia inhumation graves *a fossa* were uncovered, either simple or with *loculi* containing the votive objects. *Camere* were found at the foot of the same hills.

To the north and west of the group of primitive burials described above other *pozzetti* were discovered with somewhat different contents. Burials *a dolio* here occurred, one of which contained several vessels of laminated bronze. A bronze cinerary urn — a *situla* — was also brought to light. Some of the ossuaries were covered with helmets as at Corneto, instead of the far more common *ciotola*, or flat bowl with one handle.

The helmets were ordinarily of terracotta. One was surmounted by a cap imitating a hut roof (List II, No. 21). Some were of bronze, of which one was decorated with plates of lead and tin.

It was in the above group containing the helmet covers that the hut urn (Fig. 22) was discovered which has recently been placed on exhibition in the Villa Giulia Museum (List I, No. 66).

At some spots in the neighbourhood of Veii ossuaries of *impasto* with red coats were found.

It was in the midst of the *pozzetti* containing material

of more advanced type that *fosse* began to appear with furniture in some cases differing in no respect from the cremation tombs. In the inhumation burials the prevailing fibula becomes the type *a sanguisuga*. Together with ovoid vases and double handled cups of ordinary *impasto*, vases of finer *impasto* and some scyphi of potter's clay occur.

Some more recent inhumation tombs are described as of notable dimensions. The trenches contained coffins made of hollowed oak trunks. The equipment was rich. It would be interesting to compare the contents with those of the similar burials found in the Roman Forum and in the Faliscan territory.

The rite of cremation seems to have lingered on to a late date at Veii. Mention is made of *dolia* with ossuaries containing ashes deposited in trenches not dissimilar to those employed for inhumation. There were also cremation tombs in the form of chambers entered by a series of steps cut in the earth. The ossuaries in this peculiar type of tomb are described as having been placed in niches or *loculi*, much after the manner of Roman columbaria. It is clear, however, that we are here concerned with practices belonging to a much later period than is covered by the scope of our investigations.

One of the general observations made in the hasty summary of the results of the excavations at Veii was the great number of parallels between objects there found and those of Latium, even in the case of "objects for a long time believed characteristic of the latter region".

Nevertheless it would be premature for us to attempt, in the present state of our knowledge, to base any general conclusions upon what is so imperfectly known, except to a few, as the necropolis of Veii.

3. — ALLUMIERE ⁵.

While constructing a road for the use of the aluminum mine called la Provvidenza at the north-east of Allumiere in a district called Trincere, the laborers came upon a stratum of rich black soil strewn with abundant fragments of carbonized wood and pottery. It lay at about the depth of one meter below the surface of the ground. The potsherds consisted partly of a ware with a smooth dark surface decorated with incised geometric designs. Other pieces, and these in greater number, seemed to show small ornamental *cornetti*, or bands in relief, such as are common to primitive Latian pottery.

Among the fragments was found part of an octagonal recipient of terracotta. As such at least the fragment was restored in an illustration to the publication by Klitsche de la Grange referred to in note five ⁶. It represents a side, an angle of 135 degrees, and half of another side of this recipient. The half side shows half of an oval aperture "serving as an orifice to the vase which was probably closed above". Whether this fragment is really part of a hut urn, as de la Grange supposed, is far from certain. If it is, it differs in two important respects from all other Italic hut urns known: first in its octagonal plan; second in the shape of the door.

The finding of a recipient of tufa in this locality and fragments purporting to belong to Villanova jars seems to be good evidence of the existence here of an ancient

⁵ Klitsche de la Grange, *Nuovi ritrovamenti palenologici nei territorii di Tolfa e di Allumiere* (Rome 1881). N.S. 1880, p. 349; 1886, p. 156. B.P. 1910, p. 144.

⁶ Fig. 2a.

burial ground. The broken *dolia*, however, which came to light, and other potsherds may have belonged to household utensils. One cannot be sure that the stratum of black earth does not represent refuse from huts.

During the course of the excavations undertaken in the Trincere no bronze nor other whole objects excepting a spindle whorl were found.

The evidence is entirely too inconclusive to assert the existence of ossuaries of the hut urn type in the vicinity of Allumiere. Primitive tombs were unearthed in three other localities of this region, but in none of them were hut urns found.

Taramelli mentions Allumiere as a site where hut urns were found⁷. Colini, on the other hand, refers the fragment supposed by de la Grange to belong to such an ossuary to an oven (*focolare*). The former authority, moreover, assigns the deposit here laid bare to a period later than the actual known burials in the region of Allumiere⁸.

⁷ *R.L.* 1893, p. 438.

⁸ *B.P.* 1910, p. 147.

VII. — THE EARLY IRON AGE IN LATIUM

IN the preceding chapters two aims have been uppermost. The first was to present the essential facts regarding the cremation period in Latium and Etruria in those cemeteries where hut urns occur. The second was to make such inferences as seemed necessarily to follow and explain the facts. It is hoped that not too much theoretical matter has been introduced into the discussion.

In the present chapter an attempt will be made at a more general summary of the facts in so far as they concern Latium, and at some sort of a reconstruction, meager as it must be, of the cremation culture in that region and its relation to the culture of Etruria. It is not necessary to caution the reader that he here enters upon more uncertain ground.

The earliest people to settle in permanent communities on the Alban Hills practiced exclusively the rite of cremating its dead. The archaeological evidence goes counter to the tradition that this people inhabited a single city of predominant importance. An investigation of the material remains in this region indicates the existence of an uncertain number of settlements — perhaps three — of unascertainable size. There is no one position that can be fixed upon as a probable site for a single center of habitation to which all the various groups of burials might correspond. In view of the available information it is reasonable to suppose that in the middle of the eighth

century, at the time of the traditional founding of Rome, the population which was later conceived of as inhabiting one great city near the Alban Lake was really dispersed in a number of more or less autonomous communities. This we know was true of Rome itself even at a somewhat later period and, if not the rule, it was at least not infrequent in the case of many other ancient cities at their origin. The settlements from which Narce was founded are an example of such a dispersal. In this instance, when synoicism occurred, there was a change of location from Monte Rocca Romana, Monte Calvi, and Monte Lucchetti to a single position farther down the valley. The words of Colini in explanation of the various distinct burial areas of Allumiere are also pertinent. He writes that it seems to him probable, as he has already maintained for Latium, that "these sepulchers belong to distinct *pagi* distributed about one center, one neighboring another".¹ The wide separation of some of the burial areas at Bisenzio and Veii also seems to betoken a plurality of original settlements. This arrangement evidently harks back to a time when the Indo-European inhabitants of Italy still maintained a definite clan division, with each clan dwelling apart from the others in a separate locality. Whether synoicism occurred at a later date in the Alban Hills, as it did at Rome and Narce, cannot at present be determined. In the investigation of this problem care must be taken to distinguish between actual plurality of settlements and mere plurality of burial areas.

Though records of the cremation rite in the earliest Latian period are substantial, those for a later period are almost negligible, and may be dismissed by the bare as-

¹ B.P. 1910, p. 122.

sertion that they do exist. As for the earliest period, were it not for the occasional evidence of the potter's wheel, a few *impasto* vases of superior technical merit, a single cup of potter's clay, and a painted hut urn or two, all of its burials would appear without chronological parallax, if the expression may be permitted, at our distant point of time. As we may be sure from the nature of things that all these burials are not contemporaneous but extended over an appreciable period of time, we are justified in hailing the advanced methods which here and there appear as indications of later development. This we should expect to be true as a general rule. Actually it cannot be proved, so far as I know, that the potter's wheel in some form, potter's clay, and some degree of technical advancement in the potter's art were unknown at the earliest date to which the most primitive objects of this material can be assigned.

At Rome the situation in respect to the burial rite is from the first different from that in the Alban Hills. Inhumation was practiced at Rome, together with incineration, from the earliest times. This tends to show that in the hills the original population maintained itself more nearly in its primitive state, uncontaminated by other peoples and ideas. In the lower country, on the other hand, by the side of the river, it seems that the cremation folk mingled more freely with the indigenous population which adhered to the burial rite practiced by the neolithic and aëneolithic peoples.

Our attention is at once struck by the fact that archaeological evidence shows no difference in age between the Alban and Roman settlements. For aught that can be discerned to the contrary the most ancient remains of the two localities are contemporary. Nevertheless it should not be argued from this that the tradition ascribing

the foundation of Rome to émigrés from the Alban Hills is false. Such an argument would necessarily be based on negative evidence — on the absence of archaeological data, in other words. The unsoundness of such reasoning is too obvious for comment, although it is sometimes difficult to avoid. As for the tradition, there seems to be little likelihood that the recognition of relationship between Rome and Alba, which is its essential nucleus, is a mere fiction.

Those burial areas in the Alban Hills which have been termed “exclusively cremation areas” are not only witness to constant adherence to the primitive burial rite, contrary to the state of affairs at Rome, but also furnish evidence of another kind. They seem to indicate that by the time inhumation supplanted cremation at Rome there was a decrease of population on the shores of the Alban Lake. There was no stint of space for interments. No intermingling or superimposing of inhumation graves occurs such as we find in the vast necropolis of the Esquiline and in the crowded corner of the Forum, not to mention other sites, such as Terni in Umbria and Bisenzio in Etruria. That men continued to live in this locality is proved by the numerous other burials to which reference was made in the first chapter, but especially by the great amount of later material (now unfortunately scattered to the four winds) from Monte Crescenzo. It may be that synoicism occurred in the vicinity of this hill. At any rate the exclusively cremation areas with primitive burials only are witness to the abandonment of earlier settlements.

The character of the primitive incineration interments of Latium, if read correctly, points to a people which had been for some time domiciled in this region. Before organized importation begins, pottery is largely a matter

of soil rather than of race. It is much less mobile than weapons, or articles of dress and personal adornment. When a host migrates, the tendency is to leave behind the old forms, or at least a good share of them, and to adopt the new with which it comes in contact. If the change in population is sudden and recent, or when communication is lost with the original center, this state of affairs ought to be indicated by the burials. Thus the foreign repositories at Vetulonia are all but destitute of terracotta vases, while the circle graves show the gradual adoption of native forms. When the Senones invaded the region of the upper Adriatic, they buried their dead warriors in graves in which are found Gallic *torques* and Italic vases². But, on the other hand, when the shifting of population is in the nature of an infiltration, or is of long standing, the fact is equally well marked. The forms of the stock original to the locality are found existing side by side with those of the later arrivals, or a contamination occurs arising from the efforts of the new people to modify the ceramics to suit their own tastes or traditions. The primitive Latian pottery shows such a complete fusion of æneolithic and bronze age (*terramara*) forms that for some time archaeologists have not been certain which of these two elements had a predominating influence. Since this is the case, we can feel fairly certain that the culture resultant from the intermingling of these two elements was of no mean duration.

The early cremation burials of Latium seem to betoken a people not only long in possession of the soil but enjoying a high stage of primitive culture. The very abundance of native pottery is in itself evidence of a settled community life. So, likewise, is the variety of

² See Dall'Osso, *Il Museo Archeologico di Ancona*, p. 216 passim.

forms. There is a certain uniformity in the character of the burials, in spite of the comparative complexity of their contents, that seems to indicate they had been left for some time past undisturbed in their development. There is no evidence of the abrupt intrusion of foreign elements such as entail temporary set-backs, not to mention radical readjustment to new conditions.

That the primitive inhabitants of Latium had fixed religious conceptions no one can doubt. This is proved by the care with which interments were made, the profusion of objects placed with the ashes, the constant recurrence of certain types of vases (apparently ritualistic), the remains of various kinds of food, including beans, grape-stones, and the bones of beasts and fish found in some of the dishes, and the orientation of the hut urns in the Forum.

It seems reasonable to regard the complete absence of real arms in the exclusively cremation areas of Latium as some indication of the peaceful conditions then prevailing. When primitive communities, either through necessity or choice, are engaged in the pursuit of war, the warriors are honored and at their death they are buried with the instruments of their profession. The attachment of the soldier to his sword or spear is only second to that to his horse. The lack of weapons in cremation tombs cannot be accounted for altogether by the supposition that metal was scarce. If bronze was so valuable that it was deemed advisable not to waste it in burials at this time, it must have been even more highly prized at an earlier period. Yet as far back as the late æneolithic and early bronze ages the flanged celt is a constant feature of burials, while the yield of arms from late stations of the lake-dwellers is by no means inconsiderable. The immense hoards of bronze implements, some of

which were found in southern Etruria, seem to indicate that this metal was not especially scarce at the close of the bronze and beginning of the iron ages, a time, indeed, when of all times its distribution should be thorough. The Phoenician cemeteries afford a close parallel in this respect to those of Latium. They rarely yield weapons. M. Perrot says that during two years of excavations in the Sidonian necropolis not a single weapon was met with. He explains "this singularity" by the character and habits of the Phoenicians³. It certainly was not the result of any scarcity of the metal with which arms were made. The principal argument against the assumption that Latium was in a condition of tranquillity at this period is the well-known belligerent qualities of the Romans themselves. This can be met by the consideration that the Roman race, as we know it, was not yet in existence.

We have seen that none of the cremation burials on the site of Rome or in the Alban Hills contained any trace of iron. In this connection it is well to quote a statement of M. S. de Rossi, one of the older school of archaeologists, who was very familiar with this entire region as it was then known. He assisted personally at numerous excavations, and what he has to say is of great value in regard to tombs of which we have only the most cursory record. He says, "Neither from the report of Visconti [in 1817] nor from my researches does it appear that there was iron in the *olle*. This causes me to suspect that the objects covered by the ashes go back to the epoch of bronze". He adds later the observation that a vase was found stained with oxide of iron "an evident indication of contact

³ See Mabel Moore, *Carthage of the Phoenicians* (London 1905), p. 65.

with this metal" ⁴. Fragments of iron were found in the *peperino* mass and are illustrated on plate XXXVII of the eighth volume of the Monumenti dell'Istituto. The yellow stain noted by de Rossi is obviously of slight value as evidence of the existence of iron in these burials. As for the iron fragments in the *peperino* they may have been surrounded by the mass or have penetrated it at a later date. It is of course not necessary to suppose that they were contemporary with the tombs.

Two other points should be taken into consideration in respect to the absence of iron. First, it might be objected that articles made of this metal originally resting in the ossuaries had disappeared through the effect of oxidation. This is conceivable in some cases but, taking the burials as a whole, to posit the complete disappearance of iron in all of them through this cause is, to say the least, unreasonable. The protection against the action of the atmosphere afforded by the cinerary urns inclosed in *dolia* or by the *dolia* alone, when the burial is undisturbed, is considerable. The contents of many of the tombs unearthed in Latium were found to be in splendid condition. The finding of vegetable remains, and of fish bones in such perfect state that the species was determinable, is sufficient to illustrate the condition of the deposition. On the other hand, many iron weapons were yielded by inhumation tombs the contents of which were poorly protected against the disintegrating agencies of the soil. And like objects were taken from ossuaries at Vetulonia which had been broken open by the action of the roots of plants. It is not easy to believe that if iron had existed in the cremation tombs in the Forum its presence would have been undetected by Boni, whose work in

⁴ See *A. I.* 1867, p. 40.

conducting the excavations here furnishes a model of exemplary care and skill.

A second possible objection is that iron was excluded from the vicinity of burials because of a taboo. This is a serious consideration, and the most plausible explanation of its absence. The well-known religious scruple against this metal is in evidence at the very dawn of Roman history, and its antiquity is unquestioned. It may very well date back to this earliest epoch. Indications certainly point to a reference of the religious content in Roman culture mainly to this primitive cremation people.

Leaving out of account the question of the absence of iron in the cremation burials south of the Tiber, the lack of other material, such as glass and paste beads, more advanced types of fibulae, painted vases, and the lunate razor, furnishes sufficient evidence that the tombs of San Sebastiano, the Villa Cavalletti, Campo Fattore, the Vigna Giusti, Velletri, and the ossuaries of the Forum and the Esquiline belong to what may be regarded as the period of transition between the Age of Bronze and the Age of Iron in this part of Italy. They apparently represent the earliest irruption of Indo-European families into the western coastal region of the peninsula. The affinities of the Latin and Faliscan dialects seem to indicate the presence of this racial element along the upper right bank of the Tiber, and it is by this route undoubtedly that the parts south of the Tiber were reached. To me it seems evident that the Latin-Faliscan stock once occupied most of southern Etruria and that they introduced a culture into this region which antedated the arrival of the kindred Umbrians. The earliest manifestation of this pre-Umbrian culture is to be sought in the primitive necropolises of Tolfa and Allumiere. It was vigorous down to a late date at Bisenzio which appears to owe as

much to the earlier invaders as to the people who brought the Villanova urn. It was responsible for the tradition of the hut urn and other forms which are proper to Latium but which also occur in burials of Etruria along with objects foreign to the former locality. The Latin-Faliscan culture which flourished north of the Tiber at one time was before long crowded to the south and submerged by the tide of Umbrian invasion. The Umbrians in turn were destined very soon to be subjected to the strong influence of non-Italic Etruscan immigrants.

Protected by the river on the north, the cremation folk of Latium were left free to continue the development of their own peculiar type of culture, which combined elements of their own, the source of which must be sought in the Po valley, with elements of the subjected race of aëneolithic stock which practiced inhumation. It is probable, too, that even at this remote period Latium was in indirect contact with the Aegean world. Some of the ceramics found in the primitive burials show strong affinities with sub-Mycenaean, particularly Cretan forms. The presence of gold and amber is unmistakable evidence of trade relations with foreign parts.

That the earliest Latian culture developed independently of, and uninfluenced by, the so-called "Villanova culture" of Etruria seems to explain best the facts disclosed by the burials. There are many indications, on the other hand, of close connection between the primitive culture of Latium and that of Campania, in spite of the difference of burial rite⁵.

The Umbrian race may have been domiciled in the Po valley at the time when Latium was first occupied by

⁵ Cf. Peet, *The Early Iron Age in South Italy* in *Papers of the Br. School at Rome*, Vol. IV (1907), p. 293. Also cf. the review of this article by Paribeni in *B.P.* 1909, p. 151.

Indo-Europeans, and they may even have penetrated into northern Etruria, but it certainly seems that the secure possession of southern Etruria by the Umbrians belongs to a later date, and that the fuller development of their peculiar type of culture belongs to a period when the cremation culture of Latium was at an end. Such influences as can be traced seem to have passed from the Latins to the Umbrians rather than vice versa. This contact of the earliest Latian with the Umbrian civilization must belong, of course, to the early part of the first period of the Iron Age. The debt of Etruria, such as it was, to the Latin-Faliscan ⁶ elements was later repaid with interest after the Umbrians had absorbed an advanced foreign culture.

A few paragraphs back (and at certain other points in the exposition) mention has been made of certain material, the lack of which in early cremation areas of Latium requires that they be dated in the transition period of the Bronze and Iron Ages. The presence of this same material in so many of the ordinary cremation burials of Etruria is the evidence for their later date. This disparity of funeral equipment cannot be explained by tacitly assuming the contemporaneity of the two cultures, and asserting the backwardness of the country to the south of the Tiber and the progressiveness of that to the north ⁷.

⁶ The word "Latin" in the compound may represent the influences actually passing over the Tiber from the south; the word "Faliscan" influences remaining on the north of the Tiber after the Umbrian invasion.

⁷ Pinza sometimes attempts to synchronize by the assumption of disparity of culture material that cannot possibly be contemporary. According to his system the more primitive objects belong to the *facies conservatrice* and the more advanced to the *facies progredita*. Although there is often justification for such a classification it should be employed with reserve. The inhumation graves in the Vigna Testa,

No matter how conservative Latium may have been, it is inevitable that some of this more advanced material should have penetrated the barriers and appeared in the cremation tombs. But of it there is no trace until inhumation has largely supplanted the cremation rite.

Then there is the matter of the *dolia* and the ossuaries. The former were almost the rule in the Latian burials. The exceptional instances of their occurrence in Villanova cemeteries of Etruria indicate that they were due to outside influences. They are completely foreign to the burial traditions of the Umbrians. As to the ossuaries, most of the ordinary varieties found in Latium occur here and there in Etruria, but the biconical jar, which is the outstanding feature of the Umbrian burial, did not pass the Tiber. The most natural interpretation of this phenomenon is that before the culture of Etruria was of sufficient influence to affect that of Latium, the rite of cremation in the latter region had practically ceased.

The facts and theories outlined above substantiate the view that the hut urn was the invention of the Latian folk, or at least that the Italic prototype originated with them. We have seen that the two oldest necropolises of Corneto yielded advanced types of hut urns. Some of the rudest specimens from the Alban Hills appear to have been the first essays in this form. Less tangible though perhaps no less dependable evidence for the Latian origin of the hut urn is offered by the general character of the early cremation burial. This type of ossuary appears more congenial to the Latian than to the Umbrian rites. The meticulous care and method observed in

for example, which according to Pinza belong to the *facies progredita* and are contemporary in his reckoning with the primitive cremation burials, must, as we have shown, belong to a later chapter in the history of Latium than the hut urns.

protecting the deposition, the numerous vases, the food set out for the needs of the departed spirit in the Roman and Alban tombs, are all in accordance with the conception involved in the ossuary as the abode of the dead. Given this fixed conception, the assimilation of the receptacle containing the relics of the departed to the form of an actual dwelling is the next logical step. Among the earliest Umbrian population, e. g. at Vetulonia, this solicitude is not nearly so manifest. The Umbrian ritual is not so clearly defined.

The pots mounted on high, hollow bases, sometimes decorated *a giorno* (so-called *calefattoii*), which evidently are imitations in terracotta of a sort of stove or oven perhaps of metal, show the trend of the potter's art in Latium. These and the hut urns are their most complex forms. The tendency was to extend the scope of their industry to include, for funeral purposes at least, the imitation of objects in use in daily life. These *calefattoii* are not found in tombs in Etruria. There the potter's art follows a different course. His efforts reach their earliest culmination in the imitation of the heads of beasts and the forms of birds as handles or spouts of vases — a purely decorative development falling legitimately within the potter's province. This style of decoration is unknown in Latium in the period we are treating. The hut urns as well as *aski* and *barchette* illustrate this divergent tendency. A frequent decoration of Latian hut urns is *cornetti* on the roof. This feature in Etruria is often varied with the heads of geese or serpents. Arguing from this diversity of treatment it seems reasonable to suppose that the people who produced the *calefattoii* also originated the hut urn.

The ovoid vases with reticulate relief; the cups with double handles terminating in saddles or in hornlets,

which appear to be derived from terramara types; the otriform vessels with transverse handles, which appear, just as the *calefattoii*, to be imitations of objects of eastern origin, are all indications of a development of ceramics south of the Tiber independent of influences from Etruria. The quite sporadic appearance of these types in the north, and the fact that they never occur consistently in successive burials, as they sometimes do in Latium, leads to the conviction that they are there derived from some other culture. The farther one withdraws from the Tiber the fewer are the reminiscences of the region on the south. At Vetulonia, as we have seen, the pottery forms are few, and almost without relationship to those of Latium. Here, if anywhere, one should look for a purer Umbrian tradition.

With the appearance of the first inhumation grave in Latium containing iron spear heads or glass beads one chapter in the pre-history of this region closes and another begins.

Aside from the difference in rite and the changes resulting therefrom in the construction of the grave, the character of the new inhumation burials differs so greatly from that of the cremation burials that the postulation of the appearance of a new population in Latium seems inevitable. The only alternative is to imagine the existence of an undiscovered series of tombs showing a transition from the cremation to the inhumation rite. Of such a transition we possess at the present time scarcely a trace ⁸.

⁸ In so far as Rome is concerned there is not the slightest trace that I can find of such a transition, although it should be borne in mind that we probably know but a small part of the Forum necropolis. In the Alban Hills, on the other hand, at least three cremation burials contained material proper to the inhumation period. (See note 15 to chapter I).

Attention has already been called to the inhumation burials of the Vigna Testa with their iron lance points and fibulae *a sanguisuga*. Reference has also been made to certain burials of the Esquiline following this rite and containing analogous material. To approximately the same date also, though possibly a little earlier, should be ascribed tomb II of the Forum sepulcretum with its greater profusion of amber and its glass beads. Now in attempting to work out a relative chronology for Latium, the above burials, all of which are of the inhumation rite, must be assigned to the period next succeeding that in which the hut urns and related burials fall. The question as to whether there is an actual lapse of time between the two periods is not here under consideration. The point is that, taking the material as we find it, the inhumation burials enumerated above are next later in time. It will readily be seen that nothing is indicative of a gradual transition. Rather there is a sudden jump. Iron, silver, arms, fibulae of later type, glass and enamel beads, and painted geometric ware now appear for the first time, while in the exclusively cremation areas of the Alban Hills, and in the cremation burials of the Forum and the Esquiline, they were absolutely unknown. Some of the primitive vase forms continue, such especially as the double-handled cup, but they now take a subordinate position in the funeral equipment. The spear heads and lance points become prominent features of the deposition. There is a sudden influx of new material without the extinction, naturally, of the local ceramics.

It will be seen by this time, perhaps, that the theory of a gradual change from the cremation to the inhumation rite in Latium has almost no evidence to support it.

We are now face to face with the interesting question of the identity of this new people which began to bury

its dead uncremated on the Esquiline and Quirinal hills. Judging by their arms they were of a warlike character, and had acquired their position in Latium at the point of the lance.

The most obvious explanation is that they were the Sabines about whom a considerable mass of legend arose in later times. The Sabines, according to the legend, waged war with the newly founded city of Rome and succeeded in raising one of their own race to the throne, who ruled together with Romulus. Numa Pompilius, the second king, was a Sabine from Cures, who succeeded Romulus on his death in 717 B. C. Plutarch declares that when Numa died he refused to allow his body to be cremated, and that it was placed in a coffin and buried on the Janiculum⁹.

A comparison of the legendary dates of these events with the archaeological dates shows that they roughly correspond. The most dependable chronological foundation is afforded by the Italo-geometric and proto-Corinthian ceramics. The former seem to have appeared but a short time before the latter, and the periods of both overlap, as is proved by certain burials. At Cumae only the latest pre-Hellenic tombs contained a few pieces of Italo-geometric ware. At Corneto, too, it is confined to the latest burials of Poggio di Selciatello-Sopra. A comparison of the *tomba del Guerriero* at Corneto with the Bokchoris grave of the same locality leaves no doubt as to the priority of the former. This unusually rich burial contained a number of vases belonging to the geometric class, but not a single proto-Corinthian form. The Bokchoris grave, on the other hand, yielded a proto-Corinthian scyphus and oinochoë together with Italo-geometric

⁹ PLUT. *Numa* XXII.

ware. In the six contemporary oak-coffin burials of the Forum it will also be remembered but two proto-Corinthian vases were found, while geometric pottery occurred in all. Now if the earliest vases of the former class reached Latium around 700 B. C., as seems certain from the fact that they occur for the first time in the West in the earliest graves of the Greeks at Cumae, it follows that the Italo-geometric ware preceded it ; and, unless the data are misinterpreted, its priority was a matter of but a few decades. It seems safe to assert that burials such as those of the Esquiline Nos. 13, 14, and 74, containing geometric vases, were made after 730 B. C. The first inhumation burials of the class yielding material such as lunate razors, glass beads, and bronze and iron spear-heads, but no painted vases, may very well be a decade earlier.

As to the original home of this new folk we have nothing to guide us except the legend that they descended from the mountains on the east. It has been conjectured that they were in contact at one time with the people of the Novilara civilization on the east of the Apennines¹⁰. In the latter region inhumation was the exclusive rite in numerous centers during the entire first period of the Age of Iron. No systematic excavations have yet been conducted in the Sabine Mountains. It is well to remember the situation at Terni on the Nera River, where a development occurred parallel to that which seems to have taken place on the Esquiline, i e. the occupation by inhumation folk of a site previously devoted to cremation tombs. Farther south along the Treia River in the Faliscan territory the same phenomenon is observable, though of a

¹⁰ Cf. Piganiol, *Essai sur les Origines de Rome* in *Bibliothèque des Ecoles Françaises*, No. 110 (1917), p. 29.

later date. There are three groups of burials of the *Petrina*, one of the necropolises of *Narce*. In one of these groups, which was situated on the summit of a hill, twenty-six tombs *a fossa* and twelve *a pozzo* were found intermingled. The cremation tombs here belong approximately to the same period as the latest cremation tombs of *Poggio dell'Impiccato* and *Poggio di Selciatello-Sopra* at *Corneto*. A second group, which was hidden away on the bank of the river at the foot of the height, consisted of twenty-five cremation tombs only. They were exceedingly poor, "six only offering furniture worth placing in the museum". The excavators considered it "not improbable that the upper group was of the families of the *signori*, and that in the lower position the dependants found their last resting place"¹¹. It would be possible to cite other localities in *Etruria* where there is evidence of the forcible intrusion of an inhumation people among those practicing cremation, but on the whole the change of rite seems to be much more gradual here than in *Latium*.

It is possible that this considerable shifting of population which took place from the middle of the eighth century was owing to the pressure of the Etruscan conquest. The appearance of the new types of burial at *Rome* may even be the result in some way of the first attempt of the Etruscans to penetrate to *Palestrina*.

The great variety of burials on the *Esquiline*, *Quirinal*, and in the *Forum* lends some color to the tradition that the city was made an asylum for all who cared to settle in it.

¹¹ See *M. A.* IV, Col. 424.

VIII. — THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE EARLY PERIOD

IN order to show more clearly what appears to the writer to be the most probable sequence of the burials in the hut urn cemeteries of Latium and Etruria a summary with a few approximate dates is given below.

It must be admitted, in the first place, that no secure *terminus post quem* can be fixed for the ancient burials.

I. — Latium.

1. — Before 800 B.C.

(a) The Boschetto tomb near Grottaferrata (cf. p. 21).

(b) The oldest of the cremation tombs in the Alban Hills, on the Esquiline, and in the Forum.

Recognizing fully the uncertainty of these data, but desiring to indicate an earlier and later phase of the development of the well tombs, in the present light of knowledge the following should be referred to the earlier period: tombs with contents of the type of Forum A (List II, No. 15) (cf. *N. S.* 1902, p. 104); N (cf. *N. S.* 1905, p. 171); R (*N. S.* 1906, p. 17); and Villa Cavalletti tombs described in *N. S.* 1902, pp. 147-9 (List II, Nos. 10, 11).

None of the above tombs contained metal, and all but Forum tomb R contained ovoid vases with reticulate relief — a form found in the palafitte and terramare periods (cf. *N. S.* 1902, p. 172; Montelius *Civ.* I, Pl. XXI, Figs. 12, 13, 16; *B. C.* 1896, p. 37), and appearing con-

sistently associated with the earliest material in Latium. It survives to a late period.

Of the five burials enumerated above three had ossuaries with covers imitating hut roofs; a fourth ossuary (Forum tomb R) had a cover with a peculiar ridge passing over it. It does not resemble a hut roof precisely, but may well have been intended to imitate one.

The above ossuaries, occurring among depositions of the most primitive *facies*, suggest that ossuaries of the class catalogued in List II may be older than the hut urns, at least in conception, and that they represent the form from which the latter were evolved. In that case the roof would be the first feature of the hut to be imitated.

2. — Circ. 800-750 B. C.

Later cremation tombs in the Alban Hills and at Rome containing primitive material. These should perhaps include the two hut urns containing spirals of gold wire, the painted urn of the Forum, the interment of the Villa Cavalletti yielding the cup of potter's clay, and in general those burials possessing pottery showing the use of the wheel.

Note: The inhumation tombs of Rome containing primitive material fall partly under (1) and partly under (2).

3. — Circ. 750-730 B. C. (Cremation ceases).

Inhumation tomb II of the Forum with an increase in the amount of amber and the first paste beads; burials of the type of those of the Vigna Testa with true arms of iron or bronze and fibulae of advanced form, i. e. *a sanguisuga*, *a navicella*, etc.

To the above class belong Esquiline tombs 1, 3, 4, 10, 17, 33, 51, 86, 101 (cf. p. 32).

The lunate razor, a northern form, now first appears.

4. — Circ. 730 B. C.

Burials containing Italo-geometric ware.

5. — Circ. 650 B. C.

The oak-coffin graves of the Forum.

II. — Vetulonia.

1. Circ. 800-750 B. C.

The earliest well tombs, especially those on the western slope of Poggio alla Guardia containing little or no pottery, and an occasional lunate razor, or spear head of bronze or iron.

2. — Circ. 750-720 B. C.

(a) Later well tombs, especially those on the eastern slope of Poggio alla Guardia including the circle tombs with native equipment.

(b) The foreign repositories.

(c) The earliest circle tombs i. e. *circolo di Bes*, *circolo Gemelli*, *circolo dei Monili*, with foreign equipment.

(d) The well tombs of Poggio alle Birbe, including one hut urn with fibulae *a sanguisuga*.

(e) The three inhumation burials of Poggio alle Birbe.

3. — Circ. 720-690 B. C.

The latest cremation burials on Poggio alla Guardia and the Colle Baroncio, some containing *bucchero*, including one hut urn.

4. — After 700 B. C.

Circle tombs yielding proto-Corinthian fabrics.

III. — Corneto-Tarquinia.

1. — Circ. 800-740 B. C.

The well tombs of Poggio di Selciatello ; and those of Poggio dell'Impiccato and Poggio di Selciatello-Sopra containing material similar to the first of the aforementioned hills.

2. — Circ. 750 B. C.

The oldest well tombs of the Monterozzi (cf. *N. S.* 1881, pp. 342f.).

3. — Circ. 750-730 B. C.

(a) The well tombs of the Monterozzi containing rich equipment of bronzes. This includes two or more hut urns (cf. *N. S.* 1882, pp. 136f.).

(b) The inhumation tombs of the Monterozzi containing rich equipment of bronzes (cf. *N. S.* 1881, p. 362; 1882, pp. 192f.).

4. — Circ. 740-700 B. C.

(a) The later burials of Poggio dell'Impiccato and Poggio di Selciatello-Sopra containing improved red *impasto* and vases of the earliest Italo-geometric type—especially tombs *a ziro*.

(b) Tombs *a dolio* of the Monterozzi (cf. *A. I.* 1885, pp. 10f.).

(c) A hut urn of red *impasto* whose provenience is unknown.

5. — Circ. 700 B. C.

Inhumation burials containing geometric ware of the type found in the earliest Hellenic tombs at Cumae.

IV. — Bisenzio.

Since the material yielded by the burial areas of this site is described and illustrated in much less detail than in the case of the three sites previously considered the chronological outline is curtailed.

Of the necropolis of Palazzetta it can be said that cremation continued to about the end of the eighth century.

Owing to the failure of geometric ware in the well tombs of San Bernardino it appears that inhumation there

supplanted cremation at an earlier date than at Palazzetta.

Cremation, on the other hand, continued in the necropolis of la Polledrara into the seventh century, and was succeeded by inhumation as at Palazzetta and San Bernardino.

The evidence shows that the necropolis of Porto Madonna was in use from a very early date, perhaps earlier than the burial areas at Vetulonia and Corneto, and that it continued to be an exclusively cremation area. The statement may be questioned as to the existence of good bucchero in this necropolis.

LIST I. — ITALIC HUT URNS

I. VARIOUS LOCATIONS IN THE ALBAN HILLS¹

1. *Vicinity of Castel Gandolfo and Marino.*

The urns here listed probably without exception were unearthed in the early excavations of 1816-17. The circumstances under which they were discovered, the deficiency and contradictions of the reports published relative thereto, preclude the fixing with precision of the locations of individual tombs. The earliest account of these discoveries, which created such excitement in archaeological and classical circles, is that given by Alessandro Visconti in a letter published at Rome in 1817 (accessible in *D. A. R. I.*, part 2 [1823], p. 320). According to Visconti, the first material unearthed was along the road leading from Castel Gandolfo to Albano. Visconti's letter was followed by one of Carlo Fea (*Notizie del Giorno*, 1817, No. 15) contradicting the former's statement as to the site of the discovery. Fea introduced evidence to show that the first material was casually unearthed in the course of the construction of a road which leads from the bridge called "Due Santi" on the Via Appia to the Villa Torlonia at Castel Gandolfo, and therefore to the north instead of to the south of the latter village. During the years 1816-17 other excavations

¹ A long bibliography of the Age of Iron in Latium is given in Montelius *Civ.* II, Col. 669f. This list is arranged chronologically. The earlier articles bear exclusively on the excavations of 1816-17.

were made in the same region at the "Mole" of Castello in the vineyard of Marini, at two different spots in the vineyard of Carlo Tomassetti on the slope of Monte Cucco, and in the Valle Marciana on the shore of the lake of the same name². Pinza, who has made a careful study of this question, is of the opinion, recently expressed³, that the first three urns listed below were discovered in the Tomassetti-Carnevali excavations in the former's vineyard on Monte Cucco in 1817, (location 10 of his map cited in the second note below⁴).

1. TOMB A OF THE ETRUSCAN MUSEUM IN THE VATICAN.

Cf. Pinza, p. 37, IX.

Illustrated: *D. A. R.* I, part 2 (1823), Tav. 1, p. 346, in *dolium* together with other articles belonging to the funeral furniture.

B. C. 1900, Tav. XI, Fig. 18.

Montelius, *Civ.* II, 1 Col. 659, Fig. d.

Pinza, Tav. III, Fig. 1.

2. TOMB B OF THE ETRUSCAN MUSEUM IN THE VATICAN.

Cf. Pinza, p. 40, XIII.

Illustrated: *D. A. R.* as above, Tav. 2, 3.

B. C. 1900, Tav. X, Fig. 19.

Montelius, *Civ.* II, 1, Pl. 140, Figs. 9a, 9b; *Chron.* Taf. 6, Fig. 6.

Pinza, Tav. IV.

3. TOMB C OF THE ETRUSCAN MUSEUM IN THE VATICAN.

Cf. Pinza, p. 55, XVI. *R. L.* 1893, p. 438.

Illustrated: *D. A. R.* as above, Tav. 4.

² The best map of this region known to me showing the positions of the many excavations is Tav. II of Pinza.

³ Pinza p. 35. This opinion is in partial contradiction to his earlier. See *M. A.* XV, (1905) Col. 334.

⁴ All five urns bear the Vatican label "Montecucco (Castel Gandolfo) ... discovered in 1816".

Montelius, *Civ.* II, 1, Col. 687, Fig. a; II, 1, Pl. 140, Fig. 7; *Chron.* Taf. 19, Fig. 6.

Pinza, Tav. VI, Fig. 3.

4. ETRUSCAN MUSEUM IN THE VATICAN.

Cf. Pinza, p. 64, XX.

Illustrated: *B. C.* 1900, Tav. XI, Fig. 16.

Montelius, *Civ.* II, 1, Pl. 140, Fig. 5.

Pinza, Tav. VII, Fig. 4.

5. ETRUSCAN MUSEUM IN THE VATICAN.

Cf. Pinza, p. 64, XIX.

Illustrated: *B. C.* 1900, Tav. X, Fig. 17.

Montelius, *Civ.* II, 1, Pl. 140, Fig. 6.

Pinza, Tav. VII, Fig. 6.

6. BRITISH MUSEUM (formerly in the W. R. Hamilton collection).

Cf. Walters, *B. M. Cat.* I, 2, p. 216, H1.

Illustrated: Birch, *Ancient Pottery* (London 1873), p. 446.

Walters, *A. P.* II, Pl. LVII (to face p. 302).

7. BRITISH MUSEUM (formerly in the Blacas collection).

Cf. Walters as above, H2.

Illustrated: *Mémoires de la Société Impériale des Antiquaires de France* XXVIII, (Vol. VIII, 3d. series) (1865), p. 90, Pl. II.

Montelius, *Civ.* II, 1, Col. 683.

Walters, *B. M. Cat.* I, 2, p. 216, Fig. 357 (which illustrates H2 instead of H1 as erroneously stated beneath the cut).

8. ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM — OXFORD (formerly in the Old-field collection).

Cf. *Ashmolean Summary Guide* (Oxford 1912) p. 40.

SEE FIG. 1 of this volume.

Illustrated also: *Arch.* 42, 1 (1869), p. 111.

9. ANTHROPOLOGISCHES INSTITUT — MUNICH.

Cf. *N. S.* 1882, p. 171, urn o. *B. P.* IX, p. 140, note 6.

SEE FIGS. 2, 2a of this volume.

Illustrated also: Lindenschmit I, fasc. X, Pl. III, Fig. 2.

10. STAATLICHES ANTIQUARIUM — BERLIN.

Cf. Furtwängler, *Vasenversammlung im Antiquarium* (Berlin 1885), p. 157, 1351.

N. S. as above, urn n.

SEE FIG. 3 of this volume.

Illustrated also: Lindenschmit as above, Fig. 1.

B. J. XXIV (1857), Taf. VI, Fig. 1.

11. MUSEO PREISTORICO — ROME.

Cf. A. I. XXXIX (1867) p. 51.

Illustrated: M. I. VIII (1864-68), Tav. XXXVII, Fig. 24.

Modestov, Pl. XXV, p. 248, Fig. 9.

Montelius, *Civ.* II, 1, Pl. 140, Fig. 8.

2. *Vicinity of Castel Gandolfo near the Via Appia.*

The urn listed below was found at a distance of about two kilometers from Albano on the left of the Via Appia as one proceeds toward Rome, and in the vineyard Batocchi near the chapel dedicated to S. Sebastiano. Date of discovery: 1882.

12. MUSEO DEI CONSERVATORI — ROME.

Cf. N. S. 1882, p. 272.

Illustrated: B. C. 1896, Tav. V, Fig. 19.

M. A. XV, Tav. XIX, Fig. 10.

Montelius, *Civ.* II, 1, Col. 660, Fig. e.

3. *Vicinity of Castel Gandolfo.*

The date and exact place of discovery of the urn listed below are unknown.

13. MUSEO PREISTORICO — ROME, No. 65357.

Cf. M. A. XV (1905), Col. 342 where this urn is published for the first time. Its dimensions are unusually small for urns of Latium.

Illustrated: M. A. XV, Tav. XXII, Fig. 13.

4. *Between Albano and Genzano.*

The date and exact place of discovery of this urn are unknown.

14. THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM AT PHILADELPHIA.

This urn was purchased for the above museum by Prof. A. L. Frothingham in 1897 or 1898. Among his notes referring to the urn he says that it "was found . . . a number of years ago under the volcanic tufa . . . It is in good preservation, the only exception being that the ends of the roof-beams are broken off and that it has a crack in the bottom which appears to have been the result of imperfect firing. The aperture is still closed by the original door with the handle through which a small rod ran".

The urn is described as of a very dark slate gray color without signs of decoration. Height $11\frac{1}{2}$ ins., circumference 36 ins., door $5\frac{1}{2}$ ins. wide \times 5 ins. high.

It does not appear to have been previously published.

If the provenience is as given this is the only hut urn on record from this part of the Alban Hills.

SEE FIG. 4 of the present volume.

5. *Grottaferrata* ⁵.

(a) The urn listed below was discovered in 1876 in the Prato del Fico in the Giusti vineyard.

15. MUSEO PREISTORICO — ROME. See p. 17.

Cf. *Bullettino del Vulcanismo Italiano* IV (1876-77), p. 101.

Buonarroti Nov. 1876 (pub. Nov. 1877), p. 357.

B. C. 1900, p. 159ff.

SEE FIG. 5 of the present volume.

⁵ A map of the region between Grottaferrata and Frascati showing the location of the excavations in this region is published in *N. S.* 1902, p. 135.

(b) The urns listed below were all discovered in 1902 in the vineyard of the Villa Cavalletti.

16. MUSEO PREISTORICO — ROME, No. 79312-13.

Cf. *N. S.* 1902, p. 143.

Illustrated: *N. S.* 1902, p. 142, Fig. 17.

17. MUSEO PREISTORICO — ROME, No. 79321-22.

Cf. *N. S.* 1902, p. 152.

Illustrated: *N. S.* 1902, pp. 152-3, Figs. 31a, 31b.

Montelius, *Civ.* II, 1, Pl. 135, Fig. 17; *Chron.* Taf. XIX, Fig. 4.

18. MUSEO PREISTORICO — ROME, No. 79313-14.

Cf. *N. S.* 1902, p. 155.

Illustrated: *N. S.* 1902, p. 156, Fig. 43.

19. MUSEO PREISTORICO — ROME, No. 79322-23.

Cf. *N. S.* 1902, p. 155.

Illustrated: *N. S.* 1902, p. 156, Fig. 44.

20. MUSEO PREISTORICO — ROME, No. 79315-16.

Cf. *N. S.* 1902, p. 155.

Illustrated: *N. S.* 1902, p. 157, Fig. 45a, 45b.

Montelius, *Civ.* II, 1, Pl. 136, Fig. 9; *Chron.* Taf. XIX, Fig. 5.

21. MUSEO PREISTORICO — ROME, No. 79317-18.

Cf. *N. S.* 1902, p. 156.

Illustrated: *N. S.* 1902, p. 159, Fig. 47.

6. *Marino*.

The urn listed below was discovered in 1871 while workmen were planting a vineyard on Campo Fattore.⁶

22. MUSEO PREISTORICO — ROME. See p. 13.

Cf. *A. I.* 1871, p. 242.

Illustrated: *A. I.* 1871, tav. d'agg. U9, 10.

⁶ See location 2 on map (Tav. II) appended to Pinza. There is also a map of this region in *B. C.*, 1900, p. 149, which shows the site of the above excavations.

G. B. De Rossi, *Piante Ichnografiche e Prospettiche di Roma anteriori al secolo XVI* (Rome 1879), p. 4.

B. C. 1898, Tav. VII, Fig. 11.

Modestov, Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 3, p. 269.

Montelius, *Civ.* II, 1, Pl. 140, Figs. 10, 11; *Chron.* Taf. XIX, Fig. 7.

7. *Velletri.*

The urn listed below was discovered in 1893 in the vineyard of Adriano d'Andrea.

23. MUSEO PREISTORICO — ROME, No. 65361. See p. 25.

Cf. *N. S.* 1893, p. 198.

Illustrated: *N. S.* 1893, p. 200, Fig. 2.

M. A. XV, Tav. XXII, Fig. 11.

Montelius, *Civ.* II, 2, Pl. 371, Fig. 14.

8. *Unknown Locality.*

The date of the discovery of this urn is not known.

24. MUSEO PREISTORICO — ROME, No. 65347-48.

Cf. *M. A.* XV, Col. 337. This urn was unpublished in 1902. See *N. S.* for that date p. 158, note 5, where the two unpublished urns referred to are evidently this and No. 13 of this list.

Illustrated: *M. A.* XV, Tav. XVIII, Figs. 17, 17a.

Montelius, *Civ.* II, 1, Cols. 659-60, Fig. f.

II. ROME

1. *The Forum Sepulcretum.* (See pp. 37f).

The five hut urns listed below were discovered between the years 1902-11. The sepulcretum lies along the Sacra Via between the S. E. corner of the Temple of Antoninus Pius and Faustina and the west wall of the so-called Carcer. The graves were found at a depth of from fifteen to twenty feet beneath the level of the Forum at the time of the Empire.

25. TOMB C OF THE FORUM MUSEUM — ROME.

Cf. *N.S.* 1903, p. 149.

Illustrated: *N.S.* 1903, pp. 148, 151, Figs. 26, 29.

B.C. 1903, Tav. III.

M.A. XV, p. 290, fig. 112b.

R.M. XX (1905), p. 101, Fig. 36.

Huelsen, *The Roman Forum* (1906), p. 212, Fig. 118.

Montelius, *Civ.* II, 1, Pl. 134a, Fig. 11; *Chron.* Taf. XIX, Fig. 3.

26. TOMB Q OF THE FORUM MUSEUM — ROME.

Cf. *N.S.* 1906, p. 11.

Illustrated: *N.S.* 1906, pp. 11, 12, Figs. 5, 6.

27. TOMB U OF THE FORUM MUSEUM — ROME.

Cf. *N.S.* 1906, p. 41.

Illustrated: *N.S.* 1906, pp. 42, 43, Figs. 42, 43.

28. TOMB Y OF THE FORUM MUSEUM — ROME.

Cf. *N.S.* 1906, p. 288.

Illustrated: *N.S.* 1906, pp. 287-90, Figs. 34-36.

29. TOMB GG OF THE FORUM MUSEUM — ROME.

Cf. *N.S.* 1911, p. 169.

Illustrated: *N.S.* 1911, pp. 175-77, Figs. 18-20.

2. *The Esquiline Hill.*

The fragments from which the hut urn listed below were composed were discovered January 10, 1883, near the church of Sant'Eusebio.

30. MUSEUM OF THE CONSERVATORI — ROME. See p. 28.

Cf. *B.C.* XIII (1885), p. 45; *M.A.* XV, Col. 181.

Illustrated: *B.C.* 1896, Tav. V, Fig. 20.

M.A. XV, Tav. IV, Fig. 9.

Montelius, *Civ.* II, 1, Pl. 133, Fig. 20.

III. VETULONIA⁷.1. *Poggio alla Guardia*. (See pp. 53ff).

31. MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY — FLORENCE.

Cf. *N. S.* 1885, p. 109. Discovered in 1883—the first hut urn found at Vetulonia.

Illustrated: *N. S.* 1885, Pl. VII, Fig. 1 bis.

Milani, *M. T.* p. 21 b; *M. A.* II, Tav. LVIII, Fig. 1, bottom.

Montelius, *Civ.* II, 1, Pl. 175, Fig. 15.

32. MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY — FLORENCE, No. 5928.

This is probably the urn to which reference is made in *N. S.* 1885, p. 138, tomb 136. Discovered in 1884.

SEE FIG. 6 of this volume.

33. MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY — FLORENCE, No. 6001.

Cf. *N. S.* 1885, p. 412, tomb 27. Discovered in 1885.

SEE FIG. 7 of this volume.

34. MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY — FLORENCE, No. 6057.

Cf. *N. S.* 1887, p. 514, tomb I. Discovered in 1886.

The vent holes at either end of the gable are stopped with objects of terracotta adorned with white rays and having somewhat the appearance of pasture mushrooms (*agaricus campestris*). The illustrations do not show the striking roof decoration of triangles and swastikas in white pigment.

Illustrated: Falchi, Tav. VI, Fig. 9.

Milani, *M. A.* II, Tav. LVII, Fig. 2.

Montelius, *Civ.* II, 1, Pl. 175, Fig. 14; *Chron.* Taf. XXVI, Fig. 16.

⁷ For maps showing the various burial areas in the vicinity of Vetulonia cf. Falchi, Tav. 1; *N. S.* 1885, Tav. XII, and 1898, p. 142.

35. MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY — FLORENCE, No. 6068.

Cf. *N. S.* 1887, p. 515, tomb III. Discovered in 1886.
SEE FIG. 8 of this volume and p. 76.

36. MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY — FLORENCE, No. 6272.

This may possibly be the urn referred to in *N. S.* 1887, p. 516, tomb V. If so it belongs to the excavations of 1886.
SEE FIG. 9 of this volume.

37. MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY — FLORENCE, No. 6129.

A fragment of the roof is all that is preserved of this urn. As it is labeled "Tomba 12, *N. S.* 1887" it should probably be referred to tomb XII, on p. 518. Discovered in 1886.

38. MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY — FLORENCE, No. 6152.

Fragments of a hut urn showing incised geometric decorations. It had a deep-set imitation vent hole in front. It is labeled "*N. S.* 1887. p. 519-22", and was therefore discovered in 1886.

39. MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY — FLORENCE, No. 6609.

This is probably the urn referred to by Falchi, p. 52. Cf. Milani, *M. A. I.*, p. 212, under Vetrina a Giorno A. Discovered in 1888.

Illustrated: Falchi, *Tav. III*, Fig. 9.

Montelius, *Civ. II*, 1, Pl. 175, Fig. 17.

The reproduction from a photograph in Milani, *M. T.* p. 21a and Milani, *M. A. tav. LVIII*, 1 (upper urn) does not show the decoration of the urn.

40. MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY — FLORENCE, No. 6439.

This hut urn has three sets of rafters crossing at the gable. There are actual vent holes in the roof in which plugs are inserted. The eaves are pierced with holes at some distance apart. The door is small. Its plan is round. Only traces of the decoration are now discernible. It was one of the three urns discovered in 1889 and referred to by Falchi on p. 54.

41. MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY — FLORENCE, No. 6266.

Judging from the similarity of the funeral furniture exhibited with this urn to the description given in Falchi, p. 54, of furniture found with one of three urns discovered in 1889, this urn may be the one there referred to.

SEE FIG. 10.

42. MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY — FLORENCE, ROOM III.

Cf. N. S. 1898, p. 109, tomb No. 92. Discovered in 1897.

SEE FIG. 11.

43. MUSEO PREISTORICO — ROME, No. 37416.

This urn is so shattered that it is impossible to make out the details with certainty. The *impasto* of which it is composed is badly baked. It is of a grayish colour with darker blotches caused by imperfect firing. It has five rafters which appear to have just met the ridge-pole without either crossing it in bands or forming *cornetti*. The vent holes appear to have pierced the roof. Date of discovery not known.

SEE FIG. 12.

2. *Poggio alle Birbe*. (See p. 80).

44. MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY — FLORENCE, No. 6424.

Cf. Falchi p. 57. Discovered in 1889.

Illustrated: Falchi, Tav. IV, Fig. 10.

SEE FIG. 13.

45. MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY — FLORENCE, No. 6417.

Cf. Falchi, p. 58. Discovered in 1889.

Illustrated: Falchi, Tav. IV, Fig. 4.

Milani, *M. A.*, II, Tav. LVII, Fig. 1.

Montelius, *Civ.* II, 1, Pl. 175, Fig. 16.

3. *Poggio di Belvedere*.

46. MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY — FLORENCE, ROOM VIII.

2nd FLOOR.

Cf. N. S. 1898, p. 162. Discovered in 1897.

SEE FIG. 14.

4. *Unknown Locality.*

The date of discovery of this urn is unknown.

47. MUSEO CIVICO — BOLOGNA.

This is a large round hut urn measuring 37 ½ cm. in height and 51 ½ cm. in diameter at the base. The diameter of the roof at the eaves is 53 ½ cm. It was baked at an open fire as is indicated by the coloring which varies from gray to black. The eaves are projecting. The base is distinct. Jambs at either side of the door show three wide flutings. There are seven sets of rafters in relief which pass over the roof without *cornetti* and stop at some distance from the edge of the eaves. The framework of the front part of the roof is in the form of a rake with seven prongs. The cross-piece curves into *cornetti* (in relief) at the ends. The vent hole is clearly indicated but is not actual. If there is a record of this urn it cannot be identified in the written reports. The furniture on exhibit with the urn does not agree with any published record. It consists of one accessory vase—a cup with one handle undecorated; a fibula *ad arco semplice*, and a so-called spindle whorl.

SEE FIG. 15.

Note to Vetulonia: There are listed below the references in the reports to the discovery of hut urns other than those given in the list. Some of these are undoubtedly still in existence although the writer has been unable to find them.

- N. S. 1885, p. 127; tomb 61 — reduced to a paste.
 p. 139; » 137 — not possible to recover.
 p. 146; » 32 — not possible to recover.
 p. 410; » 1 — reduced to a paste.
 1887, p. 515; » 2 — largest piece saved was part of
 the door.
 p. 516; » 6 — reduced to a shapeless mass.
 p. 518; » 9 — reduced to a pasty consistency.
 p. 518; » 10 — fragment with door jamb saved.
 p. 518; » 15 — preserved in pieces; may possibly be represented by No. 38 of the list.

1887. p. 519; reference to 4 urns discovered in a stone circle impossible to recover them.
 p. 522; not possible to recover in large pieces.
 p. 523; (condition not recorded).
 p. 523; a mass of fragments.
 p. 529; tomb 12 — reduced to a pasty consistency.
- 1895, p. 309; fragment.
- 1898, p. 91; nothing saved.
 p. 93; roof saved.
 p. 105; (condition not recorded).
 p. 109; tomb 80 — nothing saved.
 p. 109; » 88 — reduced to a pasty consistency
 p. 110; » 120D — in fair state of preservation.
 p. 112; badly crushed.
 p. 160; in good state of preservation.
 p. 162; extracted in large pieces.
- 1900, p. 494; soft.
 p. 495; (apparently in good condition).
- Falchi p. 53; reduced to fragments.
 p. 54; (condition not recorded).
 p. 55; reduced to a paste.

IV. CORNETO⁸.1. *Poggio di Selciatello* (See pp. 89ff).

48. MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY — FLORENCE, ROOM X.

Cf. *N. S.* 1907, p. 321, p. 330 (tomb 45). Discovered in 1904.

Illustrated: *N. S.* 1907, p. 322, Fig. 56.

Montelius, *Chron.* Taf. XXVI, Figs. 15a, 15b.

2. *Poggio dell'Impiccato* (See pp. 94 ff).

49. MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY — FLORENCE, No. 83301.

Cf. *N. S.* 1907, p. 55, p. 74 (tomb 25). Discovered in 1904.

Illustrated: *N. S.* 1907, p. 56, Fig. 9.

⁸ See map in *N. S.* 1907, p. 44.

3. *Monterozzi* (See pp. 104ff).

50. MUSEO COMUNALE — CORNETO.

Cf. *N.S.* 1881, p. 353. This was the first hut urn discovered at Corneto; date 1880.

Illustrated: *N.S.* 1881, Tav. V, Figs. 12, 13.

Montelius, *Civ.* II, 2, Pl. 275, Figs. 10a, 10b; *Chron.* Taf. 6, Fig. 8.

51. MUSEO COMUNALE — CORNETO (?). See p. 108.

The present location of this urn has not been surely determined.

Cf. *N.S.* 1882, p. 171. Discovered in 1882.

Illustrated: *N.S.* 1882, Tav. XII, Fig. 5.

Montelius, *Civ.* II, 2, Pl. 275, Fig. 9.

52. MUSEO COMUNALE — CORNETO. See p. 108.

Cf. *N.S.* 1882, p. 173. Discovered in 1882.

Illustrated: *N.S.* 1882, Tav. XIII, Fig. 14.

Montelius, *Civ.* II, 2, Pl. 275, Fig. 11; *Chron.* Taf. XXVI, Fig. 14.

53. MUSEO COMUNALE — CORNETO. See p. 108.

Cf. *N.S.* 1882, p. 175; *B.I.* 1882, p. 170. Discovered in 1882.

Illustrated: Montelius, *Civ.* II, 2, Pl. 275, Fig. 12; *Chron.* Taf. XXVI, Fig. 13.

54. MUSEO PREISTORICO — ROME.

Cf. *N.S.* 1882, p. 184. Discovered in 1882.

Illustrated: Modestov, Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 2, p. 269.

55. MUSEO PREISTORICO — ROME, No. 85689. See p. 115.

No record of the discovery of this urn has been found. It is labeled "Gift of the municipality and the University of Agriculture of Corneto-Tarquiniæ".

This urn is made of the improved red *impasto* ware and has a handsome finish. It is in almost perfect condition. It is of generous dimensions and decidedly elliptical in plan. There are roof supports indicated on the front only. The door jams are pronounced. There are no vent holes.

SEE FIG. 16.

4. *Unknown Locality.*

56. MUSEO COMUNALE — CORNETO.

No record of this urn has been found.

Illustrated: Lichtenberg, Taf. I, Fig. e.

Montelius, *Civ.* II, 2, Pl. 275, Fig. 13; *Chron.* Taf. XXVI, Fig. 12.

V. BISENZIO ⁹.

1. *Plain of San Bernardino.* (See pp. 123 ff).

57. MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY — FLORENCE.

The identification of this urn is uncertain. It may possibly be either the urn referred to in *N. S.* 1886, p. 180 (tomb 5), or p. 202 (tomb 84). If it is the former it is illustrated in the same number of the publication Pl. III, Fig. 1. There appears, however, to be a great discrepancy between the measurements of the doors given in the description of the two above urns and those of the door of the urn here illustrated.

SEE FIG. 17.

Illustrated also: Montelius, *Chron.* Taf. XIX, Fig. 2.

2. *La Polledrara.* (See pp. 133 ff).

58. MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY — FLORENCE.

Cf. *N. S.* 1886, p. 298, tomb 12. Discovered in 1885.

SEE FIG. 18 and p. 135.

⁹ See map *N. S.* 1886, Tav. II, insert.

59. MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY — FLORENCE. See p. 135.

Cf. *N. S.* 1886, p. 304, tomb 23. Discovered in 1885
 Illustrated: Milani, *M. A.* II, Tav. CII, Fig. 2; *M. T.*
 p. 88.

60. MUSEO PREISTORICO — ROME, No. 51753.

No record of the discovery of this particular urn has been found. There is scarcely a doubt, however, that it was in one of the thirteen tombs acquired by the above museum from the excavations of 1893-94 in the district of la Polledrara. Cf. *B. P.* XX (1894), p. 188.

Illustrated: Modestov, Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 1, p. 269.

3. *Plain of Porto Madonna.* (See pp. 136ff).

61. MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY — FLORENCE.

This urn with its furniture intact is exhibited in the recipient of tufa in which it was found.

Cf. *N. S.* 1894, p. 125. Excavations of 1892-93.

Illustrated: *N. S.* 1894, p. 125, Fig. 1.

Milani, *M. A.* II, Tav. CII, Fig. 1; *M. T.* p. 89.

Montelius, *Civ.* II, 2, Pl. 257, Fig. 1; *Chron.* Col. 52, Fig. 136.

62. MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY — FLORENCE.

Cf. *N. S.* 1894, p. 126. Excavations of 1892-93.

Illustrated: *N. S.* 1894, p. 126, Fig. 2.

B. P. XX (1894), p. 188, Fig. 1.

Montelius, *Chron.* Taf. XIX, Fig. 7.

63. MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY — FLORENCE.

Cf. *N. S.* 1894, p. 128. Excavations of 1892-93.

SEE FIG. 19.

64. MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY — FLORENCE.

Cf. *N. S.* 1894, p. 135, tomb 12.

SEE FIG. 20.

4. *Unknown Locality.*65. OLCOTT COLLECTION — COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY —
NEW YORK.

No record of the discovery of this urn has been identified. It is reported to have been found "near Lake Bolsena" and should doubtless be referred to one of the burial areas at Bisenzio. Height $10\frac{3}{4}$ ins. This is probably the first publication of this urn.

SEE FIGS. 21a, 21b.

Note to Bisenzio: It has not been possible to identify in any museum the first two hut urns discovered at Bisenzio in the San Bernardino necropolis in the year 1885. They are both illustrated in *N. S.* 1886, Tav. III, Figs. 1, 4. It may be that the first figure is intended to illustrate that urn in the Museum of Archaeology at Florence which appears on this list as number 57.

There are references in the reports cited below to hut urns the present existence of which the writer has been unable to verify.

N. S. 1886, p. 180; tomb 5 — as in first paragraph above; possibly No. 57.

p. 184; » 21 — as in first paragraph above.

p. 201; » 80 — urn in fragments.

p. 202; » 84 — possibly No. 57.

p. 203; » 85 — urn apparently in good condition.
It is described as having no door. Cf. No. 58.

p. 204; » 86 — the door only saved.

p. 204; » 87 — rectangular bottom preserved (27
× 20 cm.) with parts of perpendicular walls adhering; also a few pieces of the roof showing two slopes with three rafters on each side.

1894, p. 135; » 11 — urn in fragments.

VI. VEII

66. MUSEUM OF THE VILLA GIULIA — ROME.

Cf. *N.S.* 1913, p. 166.

This is the first publication of this urn.

SEE FIG. 22, and p. 147.

VII. PLACE OF DISCOVERY UNKNOWN.

67. NATIONAL MUSEUM — ATHENS. THE ETRUSCAN ROOM.

It is probable that this urn was found at some site in Etruria.
SEE FIG. 23.

68. MUSEO CIVICO — GROSSETO.

According to the information furnished, this urn was presented to the museum at Grosseto by the late Professor Milani of the Museum of Archaeology at Florence "five or six years ago". Since the material of the museum is packed in cases preparatory to a change of seat it has been impossible to examine or photograph the urn. As Grosseto is in the vicinity of the necropolis of Vetulonia it is likely that this urn was found at the latter site.

69. STAATLICHES MUSEUM FÜR VÖLKERKUNDE — BERLIN.

A considerable fragment of a hut urn with cover.

The only information regarding its provenience is that it is "Italian". Cat. No. IV, h. 330.

LIST II.—ITALIC OSSUARIES OR THEIR PARTS REPRODUCING FEATURES OF THE HUT.

I. VARIOUS LOCATIONS IN THE ALBAN HILLS

1. *Vicinity of Castel Gandolfo and Marino.*

As in the case of the hut urns listed under the parallel heading of List I, so it is probable that the objects listed below were uncovered in the early excavations of 1816-17.

1. Cover imitating a hut roof. This object is either part of an actual hut urn or is the cover of another sort of ossuary.

MUSEUM OF CLASSICAL ANTIQUITIES AT COPENHAGEN.

Cf. *B. P.* VII (1881), p. 196.

Illustrated: *B. P.* IX, Tav. VI, Fig. 10.

Montelius, *Civ.* II, 1, Pl. 140, Fig. 3; *Chron.* Taf. XIX, Fig. 13.

2. As above.

MUSEUM OF CLASSICAL ANTIQUITIES AT COPENHAGEN.

Cf. as above.

Illustrated: *B. P.* IX, Tav. VI, Fig. 9.

3. As above.

LAST REFERRED TO AS IN THE COLLECTION OF A CERTAIN
SIG. REBECCHI.

Cf. *A. I.* XXXIX (1867), p. 51, under explanation of Fig. 25.

Illustrated: *M. I.* VIII (1864-68), Tav. XXXVII, Fig. 25.

4. As above. At present it is used as a cover to an ossuary to which it does not belong.

MUSÉE CIVIQUE - BERN.

Cf. *B. P.* IX (1883), p. 136.

Illustrated: Bonstetten, Pl. XVI, Fig. 5.

Lindenschmit, I, fasc. X, Pl. 3, Fig. 6. Montelius, *Civ.* II, 1, Pl. 140, Fig. 4; *Chron.* Taf. XIX, Fig. 10.

5. Ossuary with cover imitating a hut roof.

MUSÉE CIVIQUE - BERN.

Cf. *B. P.* IX (1883), p. 136.

Illustrated: Bonstetten, Pl. XVI, Fig. 4.

Montelius, *Civ.* II, 1, Pl. 140, Fig. 1; *Chron.* Taf. XIX, Fig. 8.

2. Vicinity of Castel Gandolfo near the Via Appia.

See List I, 2. Excavations described in *N. S.* 1882, p. 272.

6. Ossuary with cover imitating a hut roof.

MUSEO DEI CONSERVATORI — ROME.

Illustrated: *B. C.* 1898, Tav. VI, Fig. 13.

M. A. XV, Tav. XIX, Fig. 15.

Modestov, Pl. XXXIII, Fig. 5, p. 317.

Montelius, *Civ.* II, 1, Pl. 140, Fig. 2; *Chron.* Taf. XIX, Fig. 12.

7. As above.

MUSEO DEI CONSERVATORI — ROME.

Illustrated: *B. C.* 1896, Tav. V, Fig. 16.

M. A. XV, Tav. XIX, Fig. 17.

3. Vicinity of Castel Gandolfo.

The date and exact place of discovery of this object are unknown.

8. Cover imitating a hut roof.

MUSEO PREISTORICO — ROME.

Cf. *M. A.* XV, Col. 342. This object is described by Pinza as part of the accessory furniture of hut urn No. 13. It may possibly be the cover of a vase that has been lost. It is so small as to make it appear improbable that it was the cover of a hut urn.

Illustrated: *M. A.* XV, Pl. XXII, Fig. 9.

4. *Grottaferrata.*

See List I. I-5 (b). The five urns listed below were all unearthed during the course of the excavations described in *N. S.* 1902, pp. 135f.

9. Ossuary with cover imitating a hut roof.

MUSEO PREISTORICO — ROME.

Cf. *N. S.* 1902, p. 143.

Illustrated: *N. S.* 1902, p. 141, Fig. 15.

Montelius, *Civ.* II, 1, Pl. 136, Fig. 10.

10. As above.

MUSEO PREISTORICO — ROME, No. 79441-2.

Cf. *N. S.* 1902, p. 147, V.

SEE FIG. 24, and p. 17.

11. As above.

MUSEO PREISTORICO — ROME, No. 79453.

Cf. *N. S.* 1902, p. 149.

Illustrated: *N. S.* 1902, p. 149, Fig. 28.

Montelius, *Civ.* II, 1, Pl. 135, Fig. 20; *Chron.* Taf. XIX, Fig. 16.

12. As above.

MUSEO PREISTORICO — ROME.

Cf. *N. S.* 1902, p. 160.

The cover of this ossuary is very similar to that of No. 9.

13. As above.

MUSEO PREISTORICO — ROME, No. 79309-10.

Cf. *N. S.* 1902, p. 160.* Illustrated: *N. S.* 1902, p. 161, Fig. 48.Montelius, *Civ.* II, 1, Pl. 136, Fig. 8; *Chron.* Taf. XIX, Fig. 14.5. *Marino.*

The object listed below, according to the label attached to it, was discovered in 1878 on Campo Fattore.

14. Cover imitating a hut roof. This object is either part of an actual hut urn or is the cover of another sort of ossuary.

MUSEO PREISTORICO — ROME, No. 71181.

SEE FIG. 25.

II. ROME

The Forum sepulcretum.

15. Ossuary with cover imitating a hut roof.

TOMB A OF THE FORUM MUSEUM — ROME. See p. 37.

Cf. *N. S.* 1902, p. 106.Illustrated: *N. S.* 1902, pp. 104, 107, Figs. 7, 9, 10.*B. C.* 1903, p. 37, Fig. 14.*M. A.* XV, Col. 278, Fig. 107b,c.*R. M.* XX (1905), p. 99, Fig. 33.Montelius, *Civ.* II, 1, Pl. 134, Figs. 10, 11; *Chron.* Taf. XIX, Figs. 9, 15.

III. VETULONIA

1. *Poggio alla Guardia.*

16. Helmet with cap imitating a hut roof.

MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY — FLORENCE, No. 6592.

Labeled "Scavi 1897, ossuario distrutto".

2. *Poggio del Belvedere.*

17. Helmet with cap imitating a hut roof.

MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY — FLORENCE, No. 6593.

The cap is at the top of a rectangular support the sides of which show shallow cavities. It is labeled "pozzetto No. 8, 14 maggio 1897, ossuario distrutto".

Cf. *N. S.* 1898, p. 161.

Note: There is a small cap made in imitation of a hut roof which is illustrated in *N. S.* 1885, Tav. VIII, Fig. 12; Montelius, *Civ.* II, 1, Pl. 175, Fig. 7. Cf. *N. S.* 1885, p. 106 and p. 148, tomb 42. This object could not be located in the museums. It was found surmounting a long cylindrical neck, and may have served as a handle to a vase. It is similar also to stoppers placed in hut urn vent holes.

IV. CORNETO-TARQUINIA

1. *Poggio dell'Impiccato.*

18. Helmet with cap imitating a hut roof.

MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY — FLORENCE (?).

Cf. *N. S.* 1907, p. 56. Discovered in 1904.Illustrated: *N. S.* 1907, p. 58, Fig. 11.Montelius, *Chron.* Taf. XXV, Fig. 1.

2. *Monterozzi.*

19. Helmet with cap imitating a hut roof. Beneath the cap is a roughly modeled human face.

MUSEO COMUNALE — CORNETO.

Cf. *N. S.* 1882, p. 177 ; *B. I.* 1882, p. 173. Discovered in 1882.

Illustrated : Lichtenberg, *Taf.* 1, Fig. g.

Montelius, *Civ.* II, 2, Pl. 279, Fig. 6 ; *Chron.* *Taf.* XXVII, Fig. 9.

Note : Mention is made by Ghirardini of three other helmet covers of Corneto surmounted by caps in imitation of a hut roof. Cf. *N. S.* 1882, p. 150.

V. BISENZIO

La Polledrara.

20. Vase with cover imitating a hut roof.

MUSEO PREISTORICO — ROME.

No record of the exact place and date of discovery of this urn has been found, but it doubtless belongs to the material referred to under urn 60 of List I.

Illustrated : Modestov, *Pl.* XXVI, p. 261, Fig. 6.

Montelius, *Civ.* II, 2, Pl. 255, Fig. 1.

VI. VEII

21. Biconical ossuary with terracotta helmet surmounted by a hut roof cap. See p. 147.

MUSEUM OF THE VILLA GIULIA — ROME.

Labeled "T. 42".

VII. VULCI

22. Biconical ossuary with terracotta helmet surmounted by a hut roof cap.

MUSEUM OF SCHWERIN IN MECKLENBERG.

Cf. *A. I.* 1885, p. 52.

Illustrated: *R. L.* 1893, p. 445, Fig. 11.

VIII. PLACE OF DISCOVERY UNKNOWN

23. Terracotta helmet surmounted by a hut roof cap.

MUSEUM OF SAN MARCO. — VENICE.

This urn cover possibly was discovered at Chiusi.

Cf. *A. I.* 1885, p. 52, note 3.

Note: Only those covers which show unmistakeable features of the hut are included in this list. Those where the similarity is doubtful have been excluded.

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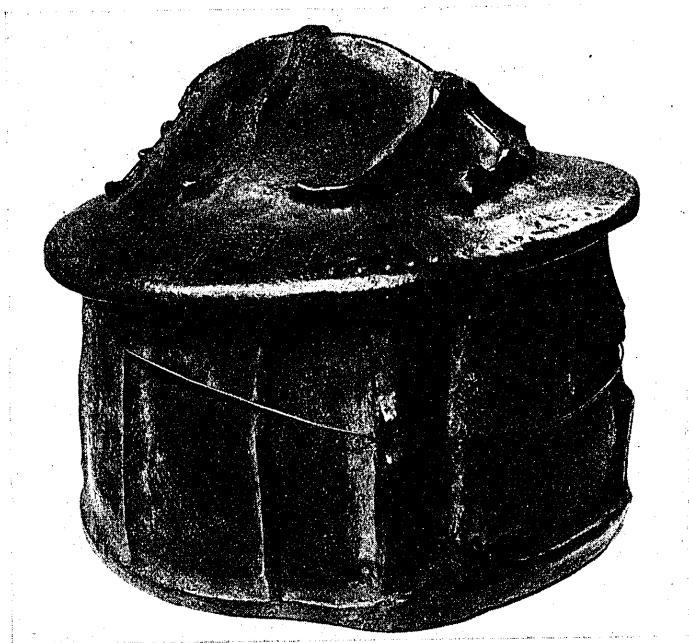


Fig. 1. - Monte Cucco - Marino

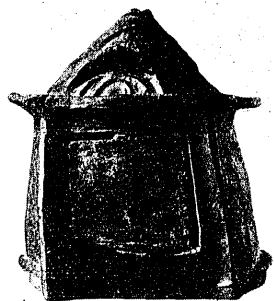


Fig. 2. - Vicinity of Castel Gandolfo and Marino.

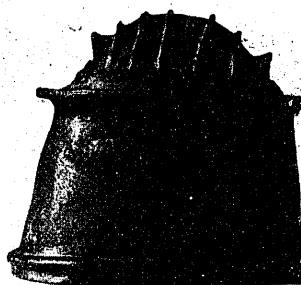


Fig. 2 a. - Side view of Fig. 2.

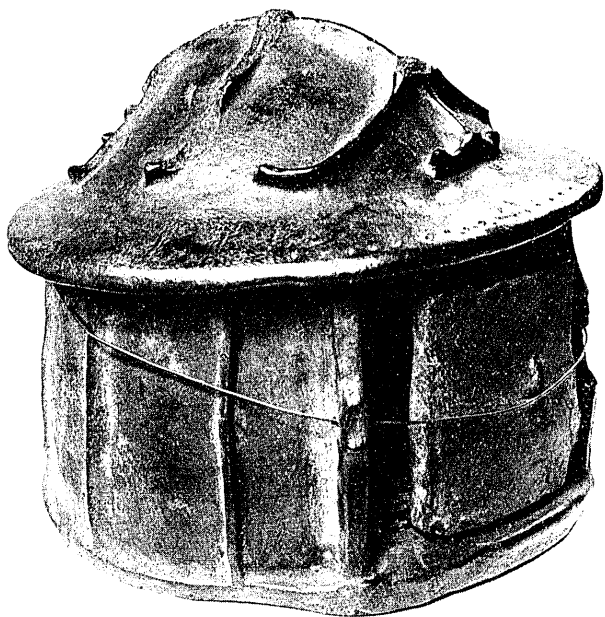
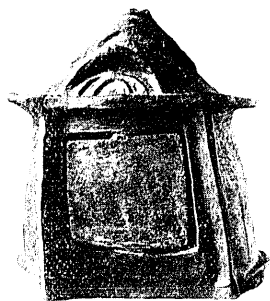


Fig. 1. - Monte Cucco - Marino



*Fig. 2. - Vicinity of Castel Gandolfo
and Marino.*

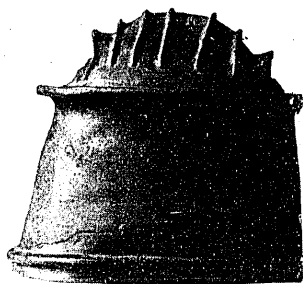


Fig. 2 a. - Side view of Fig. 2.



Fig. 3. - Vicinity of Castel Gandolfo and Marino.

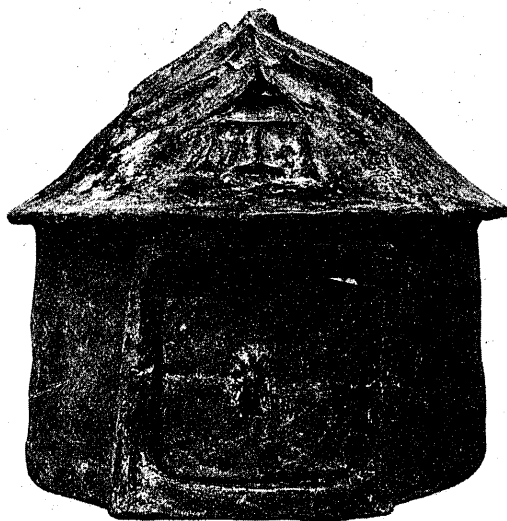


Fig. 4. - Alban Hills.



Fig. 3. - Vicinity of Castel Gandolfo and Marino.

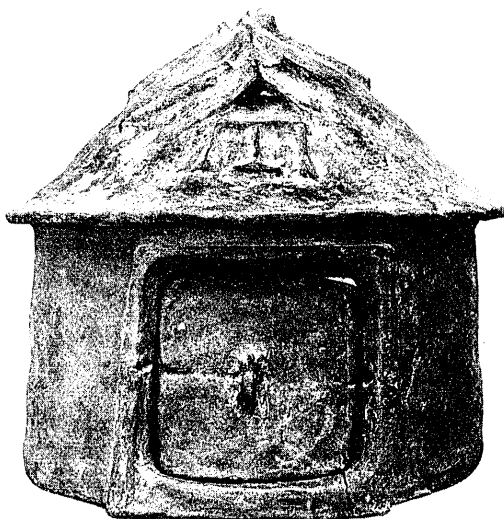


Fig. 4. - Alban Hills.

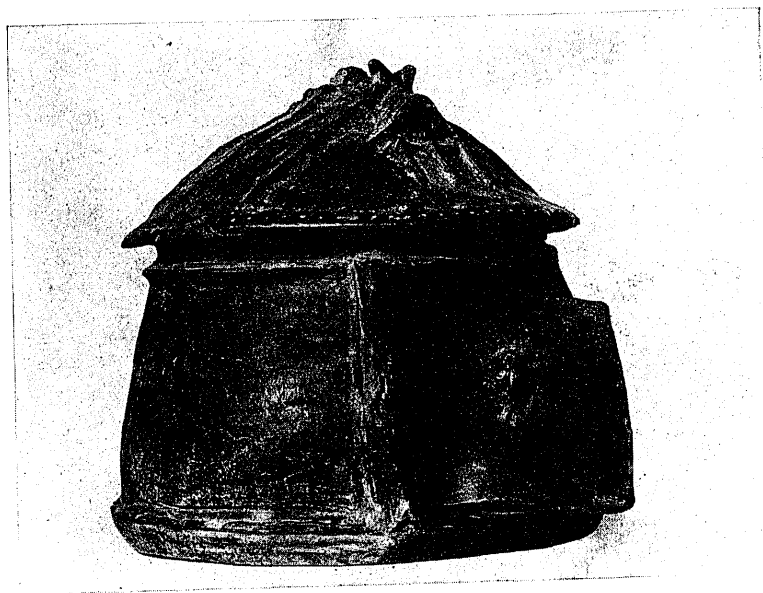
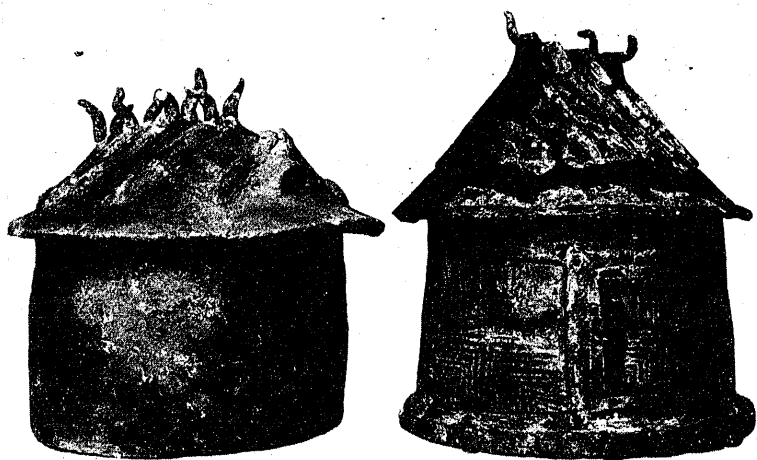


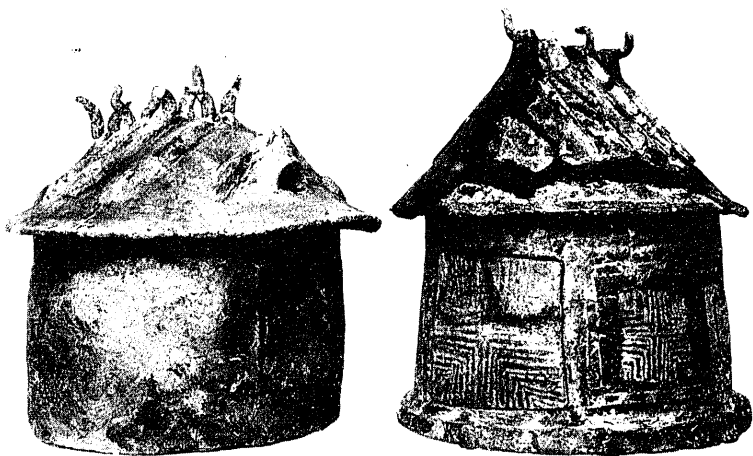
Fig. 5. - Vigna Giusti - Grottaferrata.



Figs. 6 - 7. - Vetulonia.



Fig. 5. - Vigna Giusti - Grottaferrata.



Figs. 6 - 7. - Vetulonia.

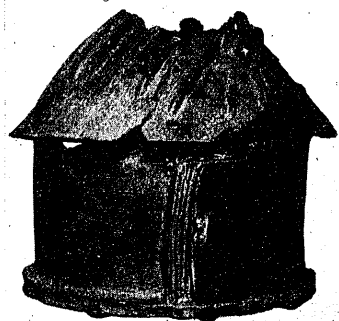


Fig. 8. - Vetulonia.

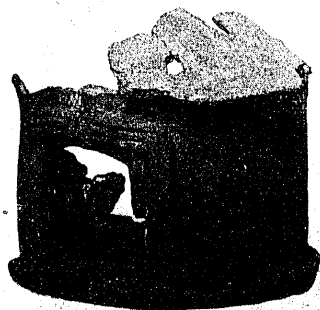


Fig. 9. - Vetulonia.



Fig. 10. - Vetulonia.



Fig. 11. - Vetulonia.

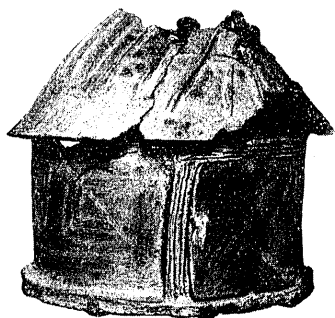


Fig. 8. - Vetulonia.

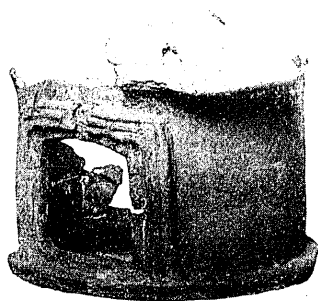


Fig. 9. - Vetulonia.



Fig. 10. - Vetulonia.



Fig. 11. - Vetulonia.



Fig. 12. - Vetulonia

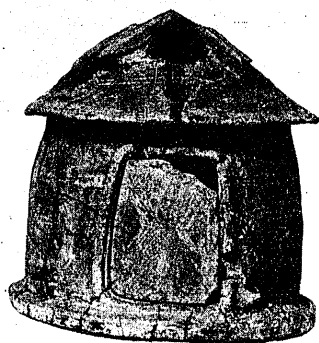


Fig. 13. - Vetulonia
Poggio alle Birbe.

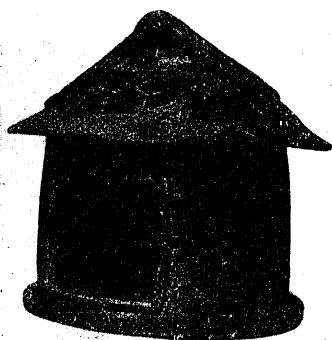


Fig. 14. - Vetulonia
Poggio di Belvedere.



Fig. 12. - Vetulonia



Fig. 13. - Vetulonia
Poggio alle Birbe.

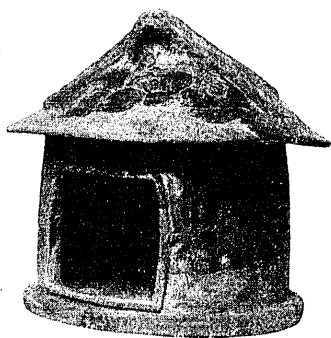


Fig. 14. - Vetulonia
Poggio di Belvedere.

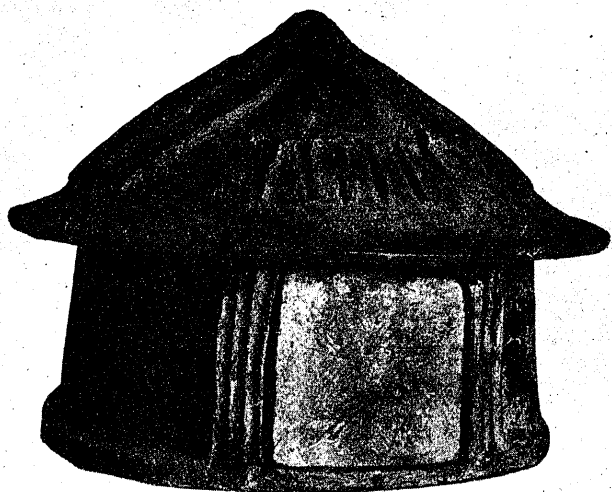


Fig. 15. - Vetulonia.

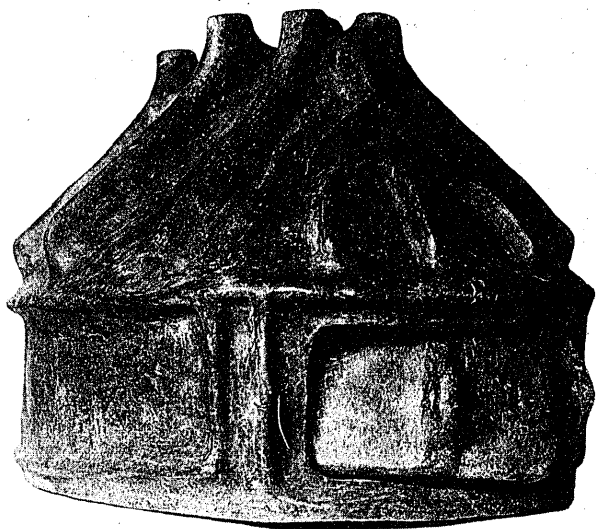


Fig. 16. - Corneto.

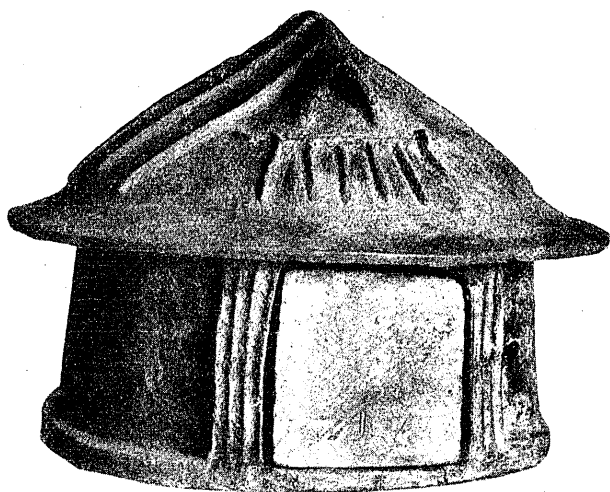


Fig. 15. - Vetulonia.

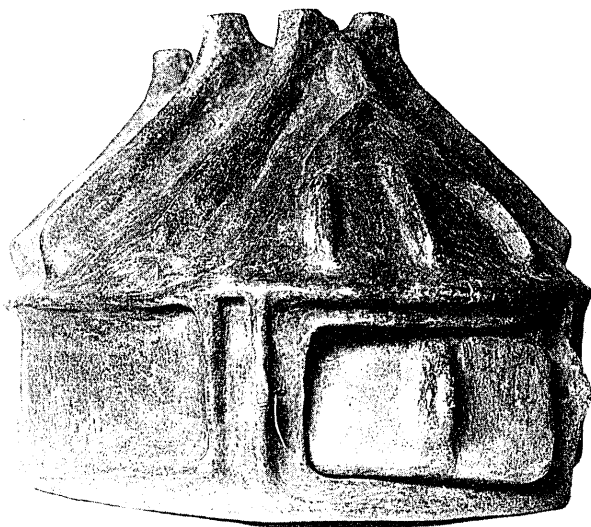


Fig. 16. - Corneto.

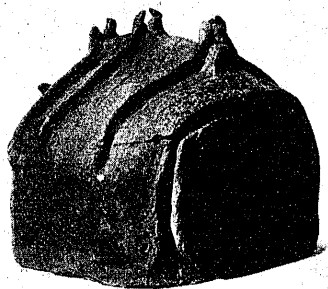


Fig. 17
Plain of San Bernardino.

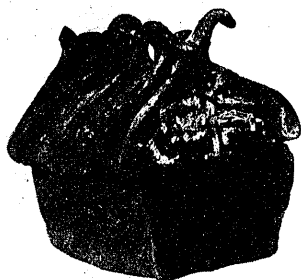


Fig. 18
La Polledrara.



Fig. 19
Plain of Porto Madonna.

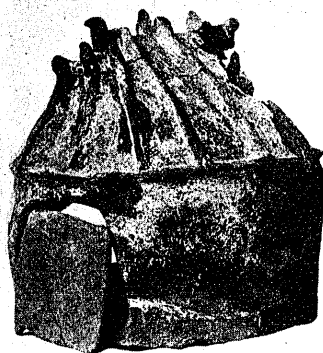


Fig. 20
Plain of Porto Madonna.

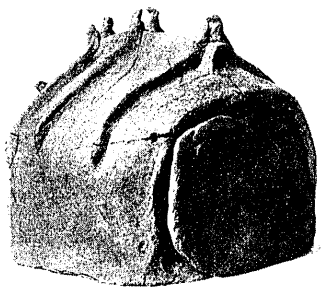


Fig. 17
Plain of San Bernardino.

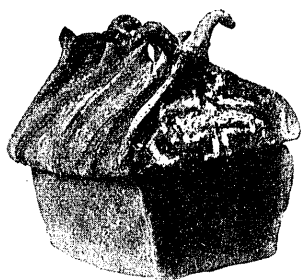


Fig. 18
La Polledrara.

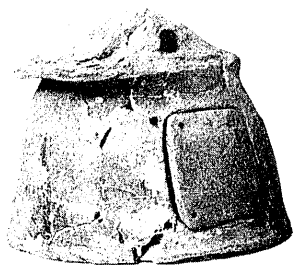


Fig. 19
Plain of Porto Madonna.



Fig. 20
Plain of Porto Madonna.

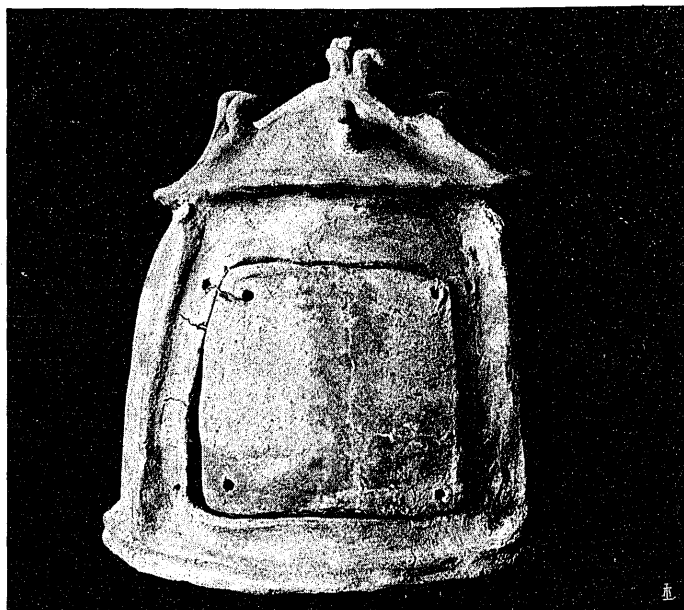


Fig. 21 a. - Bisenzio.

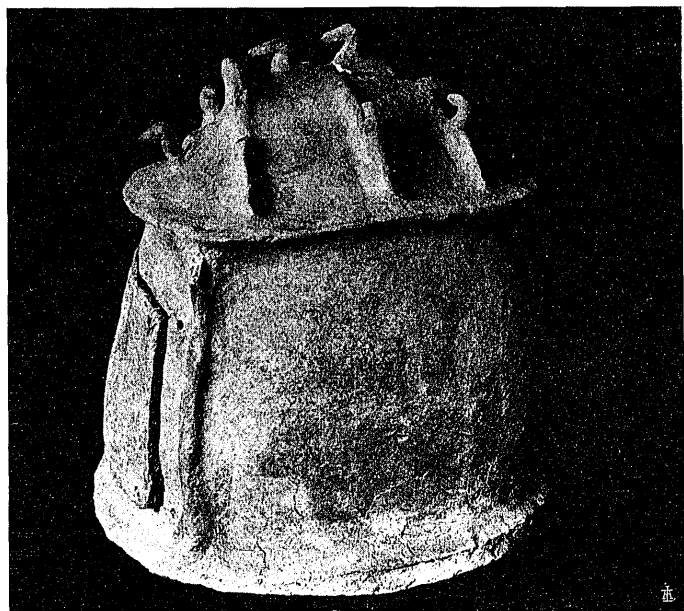


Fig. 21 b. - Bisenzio.

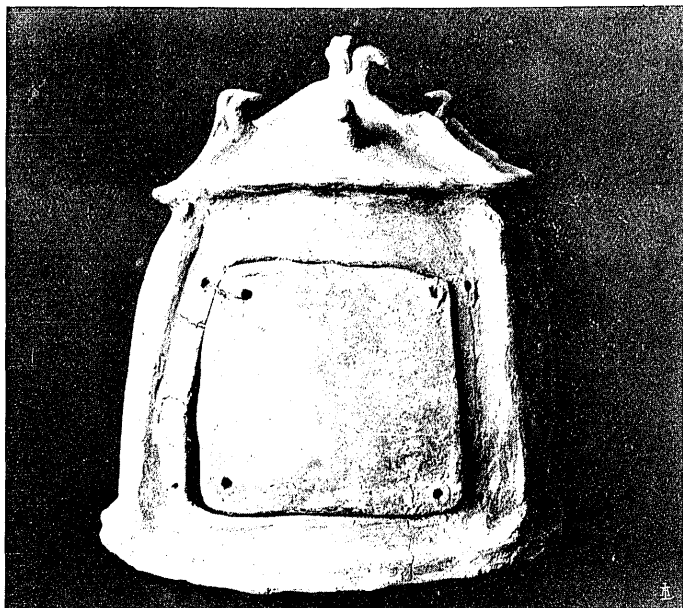


Fig. 21 a. - Bisenzio.

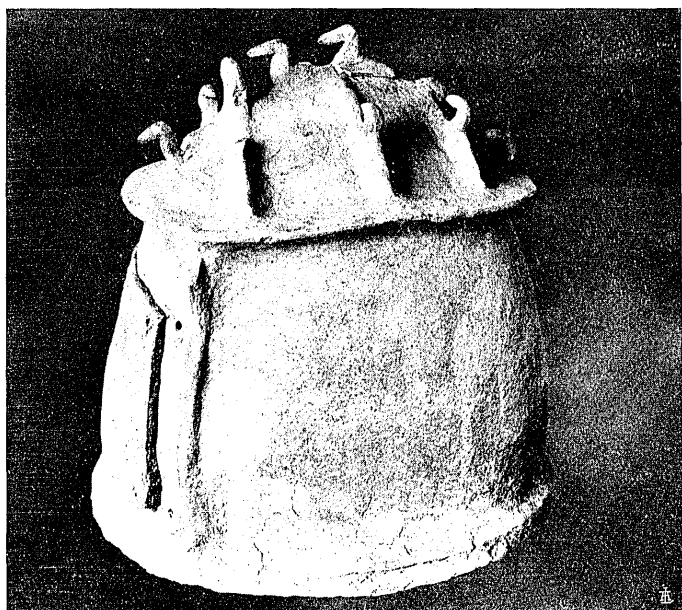


Fig. 21 b. - Bisenzio.

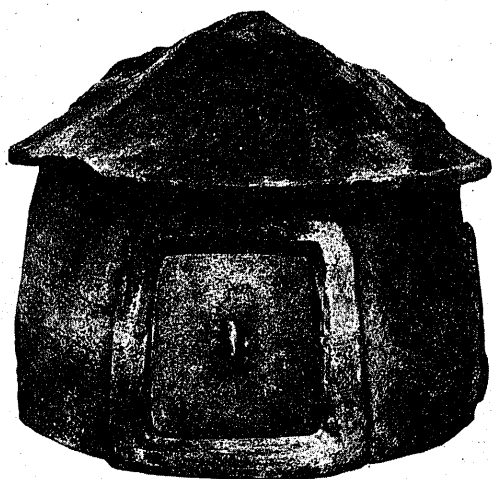


Fig. 22. - Veii.

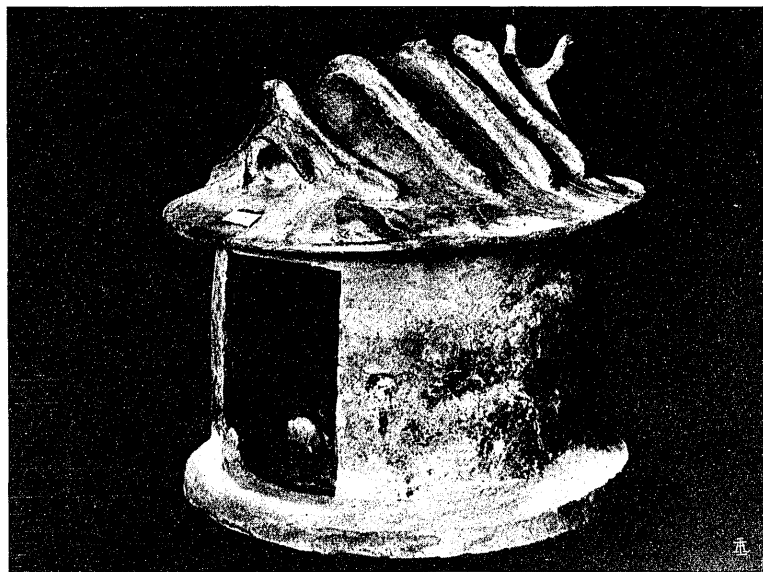


Fig. 23. - Etruria.

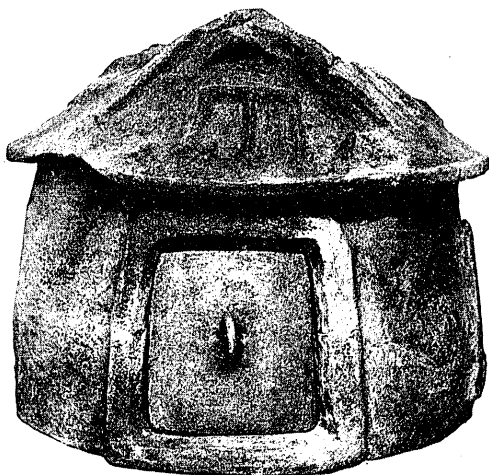


Fig. 22. - Veii.

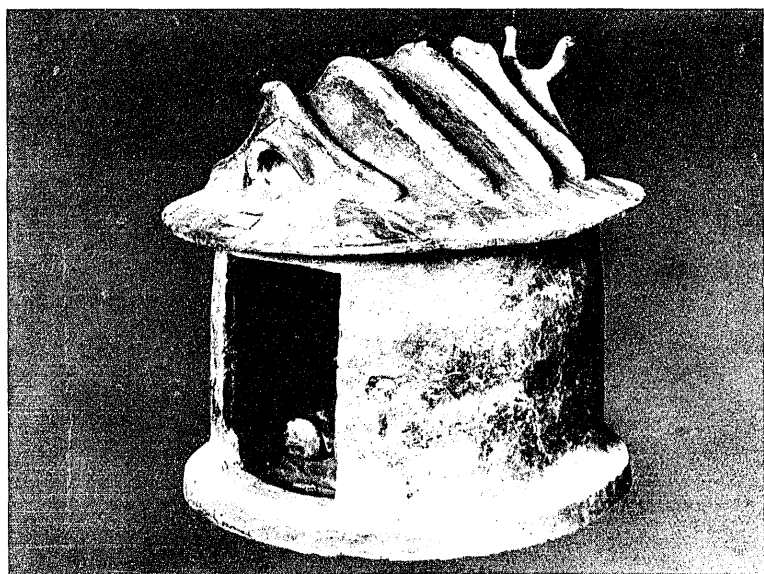


Fig. 23. - Etruria.



Fig. 24. - Grottaferrata.

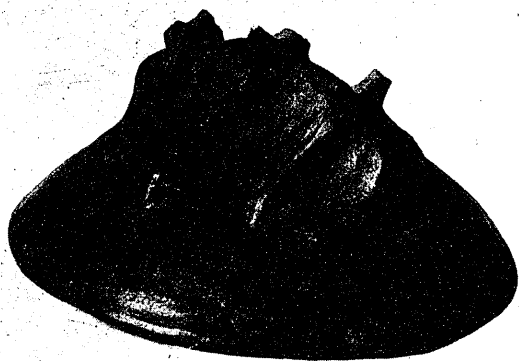


Fig. 25. - Marino.



Fig. 24. - Grottaferrata.

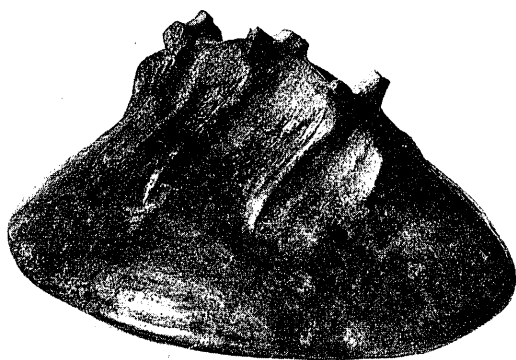


Fig. 25. - Marino.

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